

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN TASMANIA  
UNDER BISHOP MONTGOMERY, 1889 - 1901

by

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submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

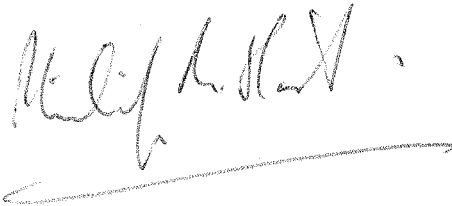
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES.

Ed. Dept.	:	Education Department
P.O.	:	Premier's Office
C.S.O.	:	Chief Secretary's Office
B.C.	:	Bp.W.R.Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS.
D.L.B.	:	Diocesan Letter Book
L.B.	:	Letter Book
Bp.	:	Bishop Montgomery
RSH., GHB	:	Robert Shirley Hales, George H. Bailey, Diocesan Secretaries.
Year Book	:	Year Book of the Church of England and Official Record of the Proceedings of the Diocesan Synod.
1894 Congress:		The Official Report of the Church Congress held at Hobart, ... 1894
Parlt.Papers :		Printed Papers of the Parliament of Tasmania.



SYNOPSIS

The Episcopate of Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, fourth Bishop of Tasmania, was a period of unparalleled expansion for the Church of England. This was directly due to Montgomery's infectious enthusiasms, and flair for organization. Though helped by a few valuable assistants, notably Archdeacon F.T. Whittington, the high percentage of inadequate clergy and the mass of lethargic laity prevented the Bishop achieving all he desired. In every field, only some of his plans were fulfilled.

Montgomery inherited many incompetent priests, and these were a great handicap to parochial development. However, by dismissing those he could, and being very careful in the choice of new clergy, he managed to raise the standard of his clerical staff considerably. Another hindrance to advancement was the lack of lay support; a few stalwarts helped, but all Montgomery's efforts to encourage the laity in general to participate actively in the work of the Church failed. However, special efforts from his best clergy, with his encouragement, led to the Church spreading effectively, and for the first time, to the East, North-West, and West Coasts of Tasmania. A unique attempt was made by Montgomery personally on Cape Barren Island with the half-castes; representing both Church and State, he was principally responsible for the considerable endeavours made to improve all aspects of their existence.

These efforts largely failed, due to the nature of the half-castes. For a similar reason, as well as the apathy of the average churchman, an attempt to Christianize the Chinese miners in Tasmania failed abysmally. More general missions, to create enthusiasm in the ordinary church-goer, had some temporary effect, but one, that of the Rev. George Grubb, brought the Church into disrepute through his naive emotionalism.

On the organizational level, Montgomery and his advisors rejuvenated the existing Diocesan machine, and created new organs to aid church expansion. However, all efforts in this field, as in parochial expansion, were hindered by a chronic lack of money. Added to lukewarm Anglicans, this meant that most of Montgomery's innovations functioned adequately for one or two years, and then lost their initial impetus.

In the field of education, one of Montgomery's special interests, progress varied. The clergy did not make the most of their opportunities to teach in State Schools, in spite of a co-operative spirit from the Education Department. Church schools had varied success: Grammar progressed steadily Hutchins nearly foundered under an unpopular headmaster, while the Sisters of the Church successfully began the first Church girls' school in Hobart, as well as inaugurating Anglican education for the poor. The Church supported the new University of Tasmania, but what was intended as a

University College, Christ's College, was closed through debt. The training of theological students, also in the domain of Christ's College, was henceforth supervised by individual clergy on a scheme systematized by the Bishop. Sunday Schools, and the Diocesan Examination held in conjunction with them, were revitalized, with a large increase in membership of the former. One unpublicized aspect of this was a "Bush Sunday School" personally conducted by Montgomery for children in isolated areas.

In its relations with the State, the Church acted as a major bulwark of the established order. However, being cautiously liberal in political and social views, the Church was also critical of the sometimes corrupt Tasmanian political scene, and especially of the introduction of Tattersalls lotteries. Montgomery took a more minor part in most social matters than some of his clergy, being less interested in such problems; he was linked socially with the highest in Tasmanian society, and was averse to any disputes with the State, though prepared to speak bluntly on moral issues. When one of his clergy, Archibald Turnbull, became an agitator on behalf of the unemployed, Montgomery and the rest of his church recoiled in dismay. Their work for the improvement of the lower stratas of society was quieter and non-political; it began particularly good work with unmarried mothers and prostitutes, an endeavour which had the practical support of Montgomery and his wife. It also

had a successful Mission House in the centre of the Launceston slums, an endeavour unique in Tasmanian Church History.

Tasmania played a more positive role in church work in Australia and overseas at this period than at any other time. This was directly due to Montgomery. Within Australia, he attempted, against strong opponents, including the Primate, to increase the power of General Synod and the Primacy, and develop Australia-wide schemes. This was unsuccessful, but his work for the mission field, his greatest interest, was more effective. Besides creating interest within Tasmania, he conducted an Australia-wide Self-Denial Appeal in 1894, and the Jubilee Celebrations of the A.B.M. in 1900. He paid a pastoral visit to the Melanesian Mission in 1892, and was, with the Bishop of Brisbane, responsible for the establishment of the Bishopric of New Guinea in 1896, over strong opposition. He also took an interest in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and his work in missions led directly to the offer of the S.P.G. Secretaryship in 1901.

Church thought in Tasmania reflected the assertive nature of Anglicanism against other denominations at this period, and also some of the advances in theological thinking. Montgomery, eclectic and liberal in outlook, approved of the new currents in theology, and encouraged the dissemination of church thought to the laity. The most important figure in theological matters was Archdeacon Francis Hales, a Biblical critic with very advanced opinions.

In the perennial ritual differences, Tasmania was sharply divided, but there were no excesses in this field, and Montgomery, who believed in the widest permissible freedom in such matters, had little difficulty at first in keeping this problem in the background. However, fear of excesses appearing in England led to a violent Evangelical upsurge in the years 1899 to 1901, led by a few fanatics. This partly disrupted the work of the church while it lasted, but, lacking wide support, soon subsided, though it had been temporarily successful in profiting from a vague public fear of Popery. But the movement's dishonesty in argument, and excesses of all kinds, meant its discrediting to all but the ultra-evangelical.

## INTRODUCTION

Although the Anglican Church arrived with the first settlers in 1804, not till 21 August, 1842, was Tasmania created a separate Diocese. Francis Russell Nixon, the first Bishop, had a hard struggle in his 20 years Episcopate to assert his authority over his clergy and end State interference in the internal affairs of the Church. He was eventually successful, and under his guidance episcopacy was firmly established in Tasmania. He held the first Tasmanian Synod in 1857. Nixon's successor, Charles Henry Bromby, governed the See from 1864 till 1883; the most important development under him was the end of State Aid to religion in 1868. With the erection of the nave of St. David's Cathedral in 1872, a Cathedral Chapter was constituted. Under Bromby, and his successor, Daniel Fox Sandford, Bishop of Tasmania from 1883 to 1889, general church progress was steady if slow. Sandford's short episcopate was handicapped by his continued ill-health, which prevented rapid expansion. Country areas in particular were neglected.

The fourth Bishop of Tasmania was Henry Hutchinson Montgomery. Montgomery was born in India in 1847, the second son of Sir Robert Montgomery, an important figure in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and later Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1870 he prepared for

Orders under Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple. In 1876, he became curate to Canon F.W.Farrar at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in 1881 married his daughter, Maud. During his time with Farrar, he also became Secretary to Dean A.P. Stanley. Montgomery received his first parish in 1879, that of St. Mark's, Kennington, South London. He worked in this parish of 16,000 people for ten years, with conspicuous success. On 1 May 1889, he was consecrated Bishop of Tasmania, and arrived in Hobart on 23 October. He remained Bishop of Tasmania till appointed, on 25 July 1901, Episcopal Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his successor in Tasmania being John Edward Mercer.



BISHOP MONTGOMERY, ON CAPE BARREN ISLAND,  
1895



PART ONE

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN  
TASMANIA.

## CHAPTER 1. - GENERAL DEVELOPMENT:

### 1

"The character of Christianity is at stake in the Colonies. There is little hope in Rome. There is less and less hope in the Sects."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Montgomery wrote this after his episcopate in Tasmania, and this belief had inspired dynamic activity while he served in that office. His creed was that "a man must be a leader in the Colonies. The quiet, harmless man will fail. It is all push ... all pioneer work, even in the cities".<sup>2</sup> On his arrival, and in spite of the almost immediate death of his eldest daughter, Montgomery visited the major parts of his diocese, and began the revitalization of the church's work. The result was at once apparent: Church News, the Diocesan paper, wrote in May 1891 that the church had "never since its foundation ... made anything like such strides in advance within so short a time".<sup>3</sup>

In November 1889, the Rev. J.B.W. Woollnough, Inspector of Religious Instruction, warned the Bishop of the "langour which here soon attacks, as a dry rot, most works of all kinds after they have settled down".<sup>4</sup> However, the Church expanded continuously under Montgomery, with especial efforts marking the periods 1890 to 1894, and 1897 to 1899. By May 1893, he could point to steady advances in all departments since 1888. There were eleven more clergy, 31 additional consecrated churches, and 47 other buildings used for services. Communicants had increased by 1,563, Sunday Services by 3,045, weekday services by

1. H.H. Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop, and on his Special Dangers, (London, ? 1905) p.7.
2. H.H. Montgomery, Hints for a Commissary, (London, N.D.), p.1.
3. Church News, May 1891, p.449.
4. B.C. 55, 28 November 1889, J.B.W. Woollnough/Bp.

270, Celebrations of Holy Communion by 752, Baptisms by 501, Confirmations by 260, and the number of confirmees had more than doubled. Sunday School Teachers had increased by 200, and the scholars by 2,300.<sup>5</sup>

This growth continued to 1897, when the Bishop in his Synod Address showed that since the end of 1889, £35,077 had been spent on churches, parsonages, and school buildings; this was exclusive of any debts still owing. The number of Sunday School children had increased from 4,459 in 1889 to nearly 8,000, and the number of teachers from 430 to 785. The yearly total of services had risen from 6,035 to 10,090, and the number of churches and places of regular worship had grown by exactly 100.<sup>6</sup>

Advance in the period 1897 to 1901 was more marked in the field of diocesan organization than by increases in the number of services and Sunday School children, which had only minor rises. But parish development continued, and the Bishop reported in his February 1901 Synod Address that nearly another £15,000 had been spent on buildings since 1897.<sup>7</sup> The final figures for the increase of Communicants was from 2,972 to 5,872, and of Sunday School children from 4,950 to 8,180.<sup>8</sup> In 1901 there were 68 licensed clergy and one deaconess; of the clergy 2 were not active. In

5. Church News, May 1893, p.850.

6. 1897 Year Book, pp. 5-6.

7. 1901 Year Book, p.22.

8. Church News, May 1902, p.75.

1890 there had been 61 licensed clergy, 5 being inactive. Only the Depression prevented a greater increase of clergy: certainly more were needed.

These figures give some idea of the considerable growth, but the picture is far more complex than they indicate. Progress varied drastically between parishes, two factors hindering the churches' work: lack of enthusiasm amongst some clergy and laity, and the Depression which extended throughout most of the nineties. The Bishop's enthusiasm usually impelled expansion, despite financial burdens; when this stimulus was removed on his attending the Lambreth Conference in 1897, the year was one of "efficient maintenance of the status quo",<sup>9</sup> but not progress.

Not all the Church's efforts at expansion were successful. The masses, and particularly men, were not attracted to the Church. Dean C.L. Dundas, on leaving Tasmania in 1894, commented on the complete failure of the Church amongst the young men of the Cathedral Parish;<sup>10</sup> this was in spite of energetic measures, including the importation of a lay-brother, C.F. Pointon, from England. Hobart and Launceston lagged behind country expansion. Church News attacked their excessive parochialism, and the way the poorer classes were neglected.<sup>11</sup> Montgomery referred<sup>to</sup> Launceston as needing far more assistance than Hobart,<sup>12</sup> the great curse there for the

9. Church News, January 1898, p.779.

10. Church News, March 1894, p.48.

11. Church News, June 1896, p.482.

12. Bp's L.B., p.34.

last 40 years having been a lack of unity in the clergy, which had ruined all their efforts.<sup>13</sup> This disunity was largely removed with the death on 10 July 1900 of Archdeacon Francis Hales, Incumbent of Holy Trinity, though some jealousy between the parishes, especially Trinity and St. John's, lingered. Only after an equity suit in November 1900 was it decided what percentage of the Glebe rents should go to St. Paul's, which possessed no Glebe. The Bishop, in an attempt to revitalize Launceston, after 1891 worked for one month of the year with it as his base; when St. Oswald's was built in Trevallyn in 1894, he paid a personal visit on most of the residents of the area to gain support for it.

Attempts to boost church life in the cities took the form of special missions. Montgomery, at the end of his episcopate, had been planning to arrange brief missions in all parishes,<sup>14</sup> but his impending departure forestalled this. During his term as Bishop, three missions were held, with differing results. The first was held by an Evangelical, Rev. George Grubb, in February and March 1892, in conjunction with the Incumbents of Hobart and Launceston. First reports were favourable, there being considerable increases in church attendance. However, Grubb was inordinately naive and even his supporter, the Editor of Church News, Rev. J.W.H. Geiss, admitted three months after the mission that some had left the Church because of Grubb's emotionalism.<sup>15</sup> November and December saw letters to Church News

13. Bp's L.B., p.337.

14. Church News, August 1901, p.122.

15. Church News, July 1892, p.692.

attacking Grubb's methods, language, and theology, though admitting that he did much good. Geiss replied that he had been greatly influenced by Grubb; he was so influenced that on 25 November 1899 his licence was removed, as he had become a Seventh Day Adventist. Grubb had left the Church of England three years previously.

A rather more successful mission was held in June and July 1894, by Canon F.E. Carter, and the Rev. A.W. Robinson, from England. Friends of the Bishop, they were invited by him to hold their first Australasian mission in Hobart. Their teaching was far less emotional and more High Church in doctrine; indeed, the Catholic Monitor reported that Canon Carter was in favour of Confession.<sup>16</sup> They concentrated their efforts at the Cathedral, though also visiting the parishes of Holy Trinity in Hobart and Launceston. Owing to the serious illness of the Rev. A.W. Robinson, the missions at Ulverstone and Devonport were conducted by two Tasmanian clergymen, Canon H.R. Finnis and the Rev. O.F. Jacson respectively. The mission attracted neither the large attendance nor the publicity of the Grubb, but it did not cause dissention, and brought particular satisfaction to those with High Church views.

A more unusual mission was held under the sponsorship of R.C. Kermode, a leading Evangelical, early in 1897. This, led by the Rev. H.B. Macartney of Melbourne, held meetings at St. George's, Hobart, at Campbelltown, and in the Mechanics' Institute, Launceston. The Bishop allowed the mission,

16. Monitor, 30 June 1894, p.12.

though he forbade it to use the Synod Hall. Church News ignored it, and besides an official welcome from Archdeacon Whittington, the only Anglican Clergy to support it were Canon Banks-Smith at St. George's, Hobart, and T. McDowell, the Rector of Campbelltown. In Launceston, the Anglicans ignored it entirely, the Non-conformist clergy taking their place. The Mission attracted large congregations and was declared by its organizers to be a great success. Although the final Hobart meeting voted to repeat the Mission, this did not eventuate.<sup>17</sup>

Montgomery once remarked that rarely, if ever, did the spiritual level of a Parish rise above that of its Priest.<sup>18</sup> This applied equally to more tangible advances. In quality the Tasmanian clergy varied widely; Montgomery later warned fellow Bishops that out of 50 clergy, especially if there was any proportion of married men, half would be failures or of little value.<sup>19</sup> The truth of this remark is evident in the history of individual parishes during his 12 years in Tasmania. Half had little expansion to record, but good clergy inspired considerable progress in a minority of parishes.<sup>20</sup>

17. Mercury, 20 February 1897 - 19 March 1897; Examiner, 30 March 1897 - 2 April 1897.

18. Church News, August 1891, p.507.

19. H.B. Montgomery, Hints for a Commissary, (London, N.D.) p.1.

20. See Appendix 1 for Montgomery's comments on parish development by 1897, and Appendix 2 for map of parishes mentioned.

The greatest progress in Hobart and Launceston was at the Hobart Cathedral and St. John's Launceston. In April 1891, the Rev. Elias Champion resigned from St. John's through ill-health; the Bishop replaced him with the Rev. R.C.N. Kelly, over the protests of 12 Northern clergy, who felt the appointment broke the laws of seniority.<sup>21</sup> The Bishop, however, was proved correct, as St. John's flourished under Kelly. This parish gave over a quarter of the total support of the General Church Fund,<sup>22</sup> far more than any other parish, and extended its interests as far afield as St. Leonards, Breadalbane, and Franklin Village. In May 1893, a Mission House was opened in the midst of the slums, the only venture of its type in the Anglican Church in Tasmania. In March 1894, St. Oswald's Church was opened at Trevallyn, and in May of the same year, St. Aidens was opened at East Launceston. The Trevallyn church was Montgomery's idea.<sup>23</sup> St. John's introduced the first Deaconess to Tasmania, Sister Charlotte Shoobridge, in 1893. This progress continued after 1896 under Canon A.R.A. Beresford; the foundations for a new St. John's Church were begun in March 1901.

One of the most prominent advances of the Church under Montgomery, and one which he regarded as a highlight of his Episcopate, was the erection of the Chancel of the Cathedral. On his tenth day in Tasmania, 1 November 1889, he was told of an anonymous donation of £1,000 to the Cathedral Building Fund,<sup>24</sup> conditional on the tower and bells being built

21. B.C. 31.

22. This Diocesan Fund paid for administration and the stipends of country clergy.

23. Church News, July 1908, p.134.

24. Diary of Bishop Montgomery, 1 November 1889.



as well as the chancel. On 23 December, it was decided to begin the chancel at once.<sup>25</sup> The Governor, Sir Robert Hamilton, laid the Foundation Stone on 3 February 1891, and the foundation stone of the clock tower was laid on 12 January 1892, by the Primate of Australia. The Chancel was consecrated on 18 January 1894, before almost all of the Bishops of Australasia. Financial difficulties immediately ended any hope of building the Clock Tower; funds were exhausted by November 1893,<sup>26</sup> leaving a debt of £2,400.

The Bishop strongly believed in the importance of the Cathedral to the Diocese as a symbol of unity, and he tried to make it a centre of Diocesan work, particularly by strengthening its Chapter, and arranging special preachers and meetings. Chronic lack of money prevented the Cathedral's being more active; it needed a staff of three or four, but had to make do with two, with occasional extra help. Dean Dundas personally paid the Evangelist, C.F. Pointon, to work at the Campbell Street Mission and the Mariners' Church in the period November 1891 to February 1893, while Montgomery paid the Assistant-Curate's salary in 1895 and 1896. The Cathedral Library was re-created in August 1889, and, under the enthusiasm of the Bishop, was built up during the 1890's. However, plans to use the Cathedral as a centre of theological teaching, to train Lay Readers and Deacons, did not come to fruition. The importance of the Cathedral to the Diocese was not recognized by many in country areas, in spite of much publicity in Church News; an appeal to the Diocese in October 1893 to

25. Completion of St. David's Minute Book, pp.2-15.

26. Church News, November 1893, p.962.

help the Cathedral's finances met strong criticism from country districts.<sup>27</sup>

At Holy Trinity, Launceston, Archdeacon Francis Hales had been rector since 1854. An original and liberal thinker, he was nevertheless not an amicable colleague, quarrelling with all his curates through no fault of their own; the nick-name "Archdemon" given him by the irreligious<sup>28</sup> was not entirely unfair. Under his venerable aegis, Trinity acquired a new school room at Invermay in 1892, a parsonage in 1893, and a hall at Inveresk in 1894. In 1897 old Trinity Church was declared unsafe, and on 9 February 1898 the foundation stone was laid for a new church. The first portion, built slowly through lack of finance, was completed in 1902, two years after the Archdeacon's death at the age of 78. A new Sunday School was begun in October 1898.

Montgomery once said that the Bishop "must be a missionary in his unwearying attention to the smallest and newest bush settlement."<sup>29</sup> Bishop Sandford had also appreciated this need, and in his final Synod Address stated that his successor would have to extend church work to "the West Coast, among the north-eastern mining and agricultural populations, and in the islands, and indeed in all our outlying districts."<sup>30</sup> Montgomery was responsible for considerable advances in new country districts, and the necessary revitalizing of established parishes. He commented after his first tour of the North that it was "on the whole retrograde, though some of the Clergy are exceptions & highly cultivated men;<sup>31</sup> special efforts were made to end this retrograde condition.

27. Mercury, 20 October 1893 - 28 October 1893

28. Clipper, 18 July 1896, p.4.

29. 1894 Congress, p.264.

30. Church News, December 1888, p.181.

31. B.C.50, 3 December 1889, Bp/J. Trevaskis.

Emu Bay had a series of clergy varying from disastrous to mediocre until Rev. J. Tryon Wilson went there in 1897 "as a matter of duty to the Diocese."<sup>32</sup> Under him, church affairs improved considerably, and a church was built on the Cam Road. Deloraine was an example of how enthusiastic clergy could achieve much. The Revs. L.T. Tarleton and A.C. Lingley worked actively, building churches at Deloraine, Red Hills, Meander, and Elizabeth Town. Lingley had his father-in-law and a staff of women working with him, with good results; Deloraine was bitter at losing him in 1902.

The Huon District, under E.H. Thompson was also successful. A church was built at Franklin, and the Huonville Church, destroyed by fire in January 1896, was rebuilt and enlarged later the same year. The D'Entrecasteaux Parish had been neglected by the Church authorities; Church News reported in October 1889 that a Bishop had not visited Port Esperance for 20 years.<sup>33</sup> Montgomery was interested in this region, as he felt "it may become one of our best and happiest parishes."<sup>34</sup> The Esperance Church was consecrated in May 1892, and in December 1895, the foundation stone of the North Bruni Church was laid. In 1896 a church was built at Long Bay. The Anglicans especially prospered under the Rev. R.K. Collisson, who arrived in April 1897; he immediately improved the church and rectory at Port Cygnet. In 1899 a church was consecrated at Woodbridge.

32. Bp's L.B., p.32, 18 March 1897, F.T. Whittington/A.Ross.

33. Church News, October 1889, p.154

34. B.C. 3, D.

Progress was most marked in the newer parishes, in which the Bishop was especially interested. Of these, the most spectacular developments were in the Forth and Leven parish, which the Anglicans had earlier neglected. In the first few years of Montgomery's term, progress was slow, as the people could not decide where to build a church at Ulverstone, the principal centre. Eventually the block the Bishop advised, was accepted by ballot in December 1892, after two years of bickering. The Bishop continually stressed the importance of the North-West, and kept Forth and Leven staffed with his best clergy. In April 1893, he sent Canon A.R.A. Beresford to take charge of the Parish; Beresford immediately moved from Forth to Ulverstone to be more central. He was, in the Bishop's words, "our best parish priest. I would do anything for him".<sup>35</sup> The Revs. W. Earle and J.S. Roper were also appointed to the Parish, which by 1898 had 15 centres. Roper worked here without payment for three years. The Rev. H. Davis, who resigned in September 1892, had built churches at North Motton, Castra, Abbotsham, and Leith, but the financial collapse left a debt of nearly £1,000. This was removed by 1899, stipends were paid regularly, and churches were built at Kindred, Sprent, East Pine Rd., Penguin, Preston, Riana, Gunn's Plains, Lower Wilmot, the Swamp, West Castra, and Ellendale; the Abbotsham Church was enlarged, the Forth Church was moved to a more central position and land was bought for a Rectory at Ulverstone. The credit for this progress was shared by Beresford and the Rev. R.J. de Coetlogen, who replaced the former in 35. B.C. 3, U.

February 1897. De Coetlogen was so popular that some at Ulverstone would have liked him to succeed Montgomery as Bishop.<sup>36</sup> As Montgomery wrote in 1901, it was "a wonderful parish".<sup>37</sup>

Advances continued all along the North West, except at Latrobe and Stanley, which had useless clergy. Sheffield was an example of how Montgomery brought a parish up from nothing. His view was that "it has been so badly treated in the past that it should be treated with generosity".<sup>38</sup> Owing to earlier neglect, and the expense involved in making it an established parish, it was given the large yearly grant of £300 from the General Church Fund until 1892. At the end of 1890, Canon A.W. Icely, the Bishop's Canon Missioner, was sent to Sheffield. With Icely went a letter from the Bishop, promising not to desert the place, plus a gift of £50 and the loan of another £50 to help build a church.<sup>39</sup> Icely reported immediate progress,<sup>40</sup> and on his second visit in November 1891, Montgomery wrote that "it is difficult to express adequately the delight I have experienced in seeing the development of the church here". Icely's work had been "altogether admirable": a church had been built, church sites were acquired at Benlah and the Nook, and the Anglican Sunday School was the largest in Sheffield.<sup>41</sup> Work progressed under the Rev. E.C. Spink, who replaced Icely in April 1892, a vicarage being completed six months

36. Church Messenger, October 1901, p.64.

37. Church News, January 1901, p.6.

38. B.C. 3, S.

39. Church News, February 1891, p.404.

40. B.C. 33, 14 February 1891, Icely/Bp

41. B.C. 61, November 1891, Bp's memo.

after his arrival, the number of services increased, and a series of successful socials begun. But financial difficulties hindered work, as the farmers were poor; all the Bishop's efforts were necessary to pay for a priest. Under the Rev. E.P. Shelley, who arrived at Sheffield in June 1896, Montgomery found that it had "gone back woefully".<sup>42</sup> Shelley was replaced by J.S. Roper in April 1898, who revived the parish, though lack of money still handicapped work. A better rectory was built in 1898, and a start made on removing the Church debt. Outlying areas were again worked, and after 1898, the Sheffield priest took the ministrations at Upper Wilmot, although this was in the Parish of Forth and Leven.

Devonport delighted Montgomery on his first visit, and he wrote of it as the best parish in Tasmania,<sup>43</sup> though utterly disorganized.<sup>44</sup> It was separated from the Mersey Parish in 1890. The Bishop appointed some of his best clergy there, R.C.N. Kelly in September 1890, S.H. Hughes in July 1891, and J.K. Wilmer in April 1898. Kelly acquired a parsonage in 1890, and this, with a debt on the West Devonport land and church building, left a total debt of £700 for his successor. On 15 May 1897, the old church at East Devonport was blown down; it was rebuilt, and in January 1898 a start was made on a new parsonage close to the East Devonport Church. There were moves in 1899 to build a church at West Devonport, but until sufficient money could be raised, the West Devonport mission

42. B.C. 3, S.

43. B.C. 50, 3 December 1889, Bp/J. Trevaskis.

44. B.C. 61, 10 November 1891, Bp's memo.

room was extended. The main handicap to church work here was jealousy between East and West Devonport; the Youngs of East Devonport were persecuting and trying to starve out Wilmer.<sup>45</sup>

The entire East Coast of Tasmania had been neglected by the Church of England before 1889. The area from the Scamander River to Weldborough, a distance of 35 miles, was part of the Cullenswood Parish, but rarely visited. The Bishop tried to obtain a priest for St. Helens during 1891, but had trouble raising the stipend, it being a poor area; he appealed for funds from the Church in general through Church News.<sup>46</sup> The first priest for the area, which was made a separate parish in 1891, was Owen Jacson, who began work in March 1892. The result was encouraging: Montgomery declared in his Synod Address in April 1893 that the most marked development in the last 18 months had been at George's Bay.<sup>47</sup> Jacson had a parish 40 miles square, with 7 centres. He built churches at George's River and Pyengana, most of the money being provided by his old Staffordshire parish.<sup>48</sup> Jacson also supervised the Chinese Mission at Weldborough. In December 1895 he left for a holiday in England to recover his health, but was too ill to return. The area struggled along under his successors, Montgomery being able to keep it supplied with a priest only by himself paying a percentage each year of the stipend fund; in 1896 his donation amounted to £50,

45. B.C. 58, 10 January 1900, Wilmer/Bp.

46. B.C. 25, Church News, August 1891, p.501.

47. Church News, May 1893, p.850.

48. Trustees of Church Property Letter File, J, 16 August 1892, Jacson/R.S.H.; Church News, January 1895, p.203.

The Scottsdale-Ringarooma area was another neglected part of the Diocese before Montgomery arrived. John Oberlin-Harris worked at Springfield, and in July 1890, the Rev. J. Wheatley was sent to report on conditions to Montgomery.<sup>49</sup> Rev. Joseph Clampett also carried out missionary work in the area at the end of the year. Wheatley died on 26 June 1891, and was replaced by L.T. Tarleton, under whom the church progressed satisfactorily. The Bishop chose the church site at Scottsdale during his visit in December 1891, and recommended that the parsonage be moved from Springfield to Scottsdale.<sup>50</sup> Churches were built in Scottsdale and Springfield in 1892, and a Sunday School at Springfield and Wyena in 1894 and 1895. Weldborough and Ringarooma were added to the parish in 1896.

Partly in the parishes of South Dorset and Scottsdale was the area surrounding the Scottsdale railway line. Wheatley, on going to Scottsdale, was asked by Montgomery to minister to these areas, which the church previously had not touched.<sup>51</sup> Progress here was fairly rapid, with financial help from the Bishop. In December 1891, a church was dedicated at Lebrina and Tarleton began successful services at Lisle and Bangor in 1892, the latter place completing a church in 1895. Preparations were made for building a church at Lilydale in 1900.

The Rev. E.F. Shelley was sent by the Bishop's Commissaries in England for the Ringarooma-Derby District, and arrived in October 1890. He

49. B.C. 2, 1890, 14 July 1890, Bp/Wheatley.

50. B.C. 61, 10 December 1891, Bp's memo.

51. B.C. 2, op cit



was immediately found to be unsatisfactory, although with some redeeming features; Montgomery reported after his first visit that "Shelley lived with his family through the winter in a two-roomed hut. And yet he has never murmured. I do not know anyone of our number who would not have thrown the place up ... he has borne so much hardship so cheerfully that I cannot find it in my heart to criticize".<sup>52</sup> A Sunday School was started at Moorina, a church built at Derby in 1892; and services were taken in various other centres. In June 1896, Shelley went to Sheffield, to its detriment, and Ringarooma became part of Scottsdale. Shelley returned to Ringarooma, as curate to the Scottsdale Rector, in April 1898, but was so incompetent that he lost his licence at the end of 1889. His two successors were, if anything, worse, and the Ringarooma district was without a resident priest after 1900.<sup>53</sup> In July 1901, steps were begun to provide a curate for Derby, but nothing had been finalized before Montgomery's departure.

One area of particular development was the West Coast, where, Archdeacon Hales wrote in September 1889, "for some time past people have been complaining of the Church's neglect".<sup>54</sup> Five months earlier S.H. Hughes had been the first clergyman to visit the area, walking from his parish of Waratah via Corinna to Zeehan and Strahan. Mr. E.H. Fowell, Commissioner of Mines, and a Lay Reader, took services at Strahan in the absence of a priest. Icely was sent to Zeehan in

52. B.C. 61, 5 December 1901, Bp's memo.

53. B.C. 46, B.C. 56.

54. D.L.B., 1889-1890, p.289, 12 September 1889, F. Hales/Icely.

October 1889,<sup>and</sup> began regular church work. Montgomery, who believed in the importance of the church of England's moving into these areas before other denominations, himself arrived at Strahan by boat on 10 February 1890. He rode back to Hobart, the first such trip by a Tasmanian Bishop. No other denomination arrived on the Coast for several months. The Bishop stressed the pioneer work on the Coast, writing that "there is not work so inspiring as one on the West Coast",<sup>55</sup> nor any other area he would prefer working.<sup>56</sup>

The Rev. A.G. King, a young unmarried man, was sent out from England to work on the Coast, arriving on 18 October 1890. He found the transition from English life to West Coast life rather difficult; his Rectory at Zeehan was a tent, and his welcome tea, though attracting 150, was not a success, as "a good many rough characters" attended.<sup>57</sup> By December 1890, the Church had a small hall and three blocks of land at Zeehan, and King was collecting promises of donations for buildings.<sup>58</sup>

In March 1891, King wrote to Church News that "the work here is at times very discouraging and difficult, but I trust that in due course we shall gain ground".<sup>59</sup> He worked hard, finally collapsing from over-

work and exhaustion.<sup>60</sup> He built a parsonage at Zeehan, and St. Luke's

55. Bp's L.B., p.99.

56. Church News, August 1898, p.902.

57. Church News, December 1890, p.372.

58. Ibid

59. Church News, March 1891, p.426.

60. Church News, July 1899, p.1080.

was opened there in July 1891. At Strahan he was raising money for a church, meanwhile having a loan of a hall from the Catholic Priest, Father O'Callaghan. But King failed on the West Coast, for, as the Bishop wrote, "although a good young fellow ... he was unable to rise to the post I gave him". The Church fell into disrepute, debts were incurred, and King finally told his people that he had not interest in the place and left "without saying goodbye to anyone".<sup>61</sup>

The October 1891 Church News announced that Rev. John Oberlin-Harris would take over the West Coast.<sup>62</sup> Oberlin-Harris succeeded King in January 1892, and enlarged the Rectory to accomodate his family. The promises of donations King had obtained were in most cases not honoured, and the Church in 1892 had a debt of £600. Oberlin-Harris tackled this, but his attempts to let seats in church to pay the stipend failed. He filled the church to overflowing, and there was talk of enlarging it; he also began a High School which the Bishop hoped would pay for a "curate-master".<sup>63</sup>

At Strahan, things were "in an unsatisfactory state - sleepy and slow ... Mrs. Powell is the great difficulty. She is opposed to all forward movements, being afraid of Romanish tendencies."<sup>64</sup> In spite of this handicap, a church was built in 1892. Little else happened at Strahan for the rest of Montgomery's term of office. His plan to establish a resident priest failed through financial

61. B.C. 62, 2 April 1893 Bp's memo.

62. Church News, October 1891, p.533.

63. B.C. 61, op cit

64. Ibid

difficulties; "I pity the man who goes there & depends on Strahanites for his salary" was F.G. Copeland's comment.<sup>65</sup>

Dundas was taken by the Wesleyans, although Oberlin-Harris made efforts to infiltrate; after having congregations of two, he gave up the struggle late in 1892.<sup>66</sup> The Church never returned to Dundas under Montgomery.

In general, church work on the West Coast was advancing magnificently. Then, late in 1892, a financial collapse hit the mines, and many left; it was impossible to pay for more than one priest, and by the end of 1893, it was impossible to pay for a married priest. In 1894, the church debt reached £1,150. Oberlin-Harris went to New Norfolk in January 1894, and the parsonage and most of the land was sold to the Government, though the church was saved. On 14 January 1894 arrived the most important man in the history of the church on the West Coast in this period, the Rev. F.G. Copeland. At that time curate at All Saint's, Hobart, he had at one day's notice come as a temporary measure until a priest could be sent permanently. In the three months he was there, he became very popular, and his departure in April was regretted.<sup>67</sup> He was replaced by the Rev. W.A.M. Cockerill, who stayed until December of the same year, but, largely owing to the very wet weather, achieved little. In January 1895, Copeland became permanent Rector of Montgomery, as the West

65. B.C. 41, 6 February 1900, F.G. Copeland/Bp.

66. Church News, September 1892, p.728.

67. Church News, April 1894, p.67.

Coast parish was named. He made immediate attempts, mainly through an envelope system, to re-move the debt. He refused to indulge in scrip even when once given an opportunity to raise £6,000 without risk.<sup>68</sup> He walked regularly from Zeehan to Strahan, taking from daybreak till 4 p.m. On occasions, Copeland walked to Corinna in a day by cattle trail, a distance of 31 miles; in his visit in April 1895, Montgomery accompanied him. Archdeacon Whittington, who had a weakness for bestowing nicknames on his fellow clergy, referred to him once as the "prince of peripatetic parsons".<sup>69</sup> Copeland was popular and successful, and was continually praised by the Bishop, his personal friend. By 1896, with the population increasing again, and centres multiplying, more clergy were needed, but the debt still remained. The Diocesan Secretary had visited the West to organize the finances in January 1895, with satisfactory results, and the debt had slowly diminished, but not till December 1897 was it removed entirely. Montgomery, returning from the Lambreth Conference in January 1898, received a postcard from Copeland at Albany: "Why is the West Coast like the Village Blacksmith?" Because it owed not any man.<sup>70</sup>

Copeland complained in March 1898 that the Church's progress of the last four years had not kept pace with the rest of the district, as too much had been left to the Clergy.<sup>71</sup> After 1897, twelve clergymen besides Copeland worked on the West Coast at various times, with improved results.

68. F.G. Copeland, *Memoirs: A Priest's Temptation*.

69. *Church News*, November 1899, p.1145.

70. *Church News*, August 1901, p.120.

71. *Church News*, March 1898, p.819.

Queenstown had been worked intermittently, but in 1898 moves were made to establish it as a separate parish, and build a church. The Bishop was so impressed with the importance of Queenstown that he sent Archdeacon Whittington there in September 1898 to organize the finances and commence building a church. By 1901, this church was free of debt.

At Zeehan, most of the land was sold in 1899, when Copeland went to England. The Bishop appointed the Rev. P.N. Hunter, the popular curate of St. George's, Hobart, to replace him, to the intense disapproval of St. George's. When Montgomery demanded three month's notice from Hunter before allowing him to depart as a chaplain to the Boer War, Zeehan protested at the Bishop's action, and all church affairs were shattered until tempers calmed down. Attempts were made to establish "School Chapels" at Gormanston and Linda Valley late in 1901, and Gormanston acquired its own Deacon in the same year. In 1900, efforts to collect money for a building at Kelly Basin were begun.

Copeland, to whom most of this progress was due, had a well earned but unwanted move in 1901, when he exchanged parishes with R.J. de Coetlogen; de Coetlogen was made a Canon to show the Bishop's belief in the importance of the West. Copeland had laboured hard on the Coast, twice collapsing from overwork. In 1896, an offer came from Western Australia offering him £400 p.a. to go to Kalgoorlie: he declined without hesitation.<sup>72</sup> Under de Coetlogen, a more staid parson, progress was not so marked.

Bishop Montgomery inspired all the Coast's advances. He visited  
72. Church News, October 1896, pp. 539-540.

it 6 times in 12 years, and would have liked to go more frequently. His most ambitious tour was in 1898, when he walked from Rosebery to Waratah, visiting the railway camps on the way, to the considerable surprise of the labourers, who had not expected to see a bishop in such parts. Having reached Burnie, he arranged details for missionary work on the line, and then walked back to Zeehan with its new assistant curate, the Rev. H. deC. Blakeney. He arranged loans to help ease financial difficulties, and personally guaranteed them.<sup>73</sup> An interesting sidelight was that Montgomery's pectoral cross was made from gold sluiced by the Bishop, one of his sons, and Copeland.<sup>74</sup>

At the 1890 Synod, Waratah was made a separate parish under the Rev. S.H. Hughes. The church prospered under him, and especially under H.H. Vale, inducted in November 1891. A church was consecrated on 9 November 1890, and a Sunday School room opened in October 1891. In April 1895, the Rev. Dr. Basil Craig went to Waratah, to the detriment of the church. As Montgomery wrote, "Dr. Craig is doing the work for which he is fitted - among women and children. He does not touch the miners".<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, Craig's Sunday School work was very successful. In October 1900 he accepted the Bishop's offer of Westbury, and Montgomery chose younger and more vigorous men to replace him.

The Church had several organizations to cope with specialized

73. For example, B.C. 49, 21 April 1892, Bp/Patterson.

74. F.G. Copeland, *Memoirs: New Country*.

75. B.C. 3, W.

needs. Attempts were made to proselytize young men and boys through social clubs. For the former there existed the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, begun in Tasmania in 1894, but this was merely a solemn farce. The only branches were in Hobart, and by January 1900 there were only 19 members.<sup>76</sup> A Church Lad's Brigade, really a cadet corps, was formed for boys, to promote "reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards true Christian manliness."<sup>77</sup> It was still-born, and had to be re-established in March 1903.<sup>78</sup> A suggestion that a mission to seamen be formed,<sup>79</sup> was not implemented. For women, the Mothers' Union made a hesitant beginning in this period. Mrs. J.W.H. L'Oste formed the first Tasmanian branch at Cullenswood in 1893. Some branches appeared in other parishes, but there was no organized expansion. After a paper by Mrs. L'Oste at a meeting of 18 clergy wives on 13 September 1899, a request was made that the Bishop call a meeting to establish the Mothers' Union as a Diocesan institution;<sup>80</sup> this did not eventuate.

To reach the lower classes, who normally were not attracted to its services, there were Mission Churches in Hobart and Launceston. Dean Dundas and Montgomery both wished to see Mission Churches attached to the Cathedral,<sup>81</sup> but these were not, in general, a great success. The

76. Church News, February 1900, pp.26-27.

77. Church News, August 1899, p.1097.

78. Church News, April 1903, p.57.

79. Church News, November 1891, p.354.

80. Church News, October 1899, p.1130.

81. B.C. 38, 23 August 1894, C.L. Dundas/Bp.



Campbell St. Mission, conducted by the Cathedral clergy, revived in 1893 when it received the attentions of the Rev. W.H. Root. During that year, the Bishop demonstrated his sense of the importance of the work by taking some of the services. A Workmen's Social and Athletic Club was formed, the majority of its committee being drawn from those for whose benefit it had been started.<sup>82</sup> A Mother's Union was begun in 1894, also a Juvenile Branch of the Church of England Temperance Society. However, Root was transferred to Catlands in 1896, and the Mission soon declined; it did not revive.

Montgomery spoke of the need for a priest in the Melville Street area of Hobart in his 1893 Synod Address,<sup>83</sup> and in July 1894 a Mission House was started there. Although this work had steadily increasing success, it soon ran out of both money and room. In 1892, Trinity's Ware St. Sunday School, conducted in a rented room, expanded into Mission work. However, the room was soon overcrowded, and in January 1896 the foundation stone was laid for a Mission House in Colville Street. This work, mostly conducted by lay readers, attracted 60 boys off the street to its night school and boys club,<sup>84</sup> besides reaching many who normally avoided church attendance. However, as with all the Hobart Mission Houses, the number attracted was small when related to the numbers untouched, and the work was limited in scope. Far more successful was the

82. Church News, August 1893, p.911, and September 1893, p.929.

83. Church News, May 1893, p.850.

84. Church News, June 1897, p.676.

St. John's Mission House, Launceston, which attempted to cater for all the needs of the poorer classes.

A special endeavour was made to convert the Chinese miners at Weldborough. There were 800 Chinese in Tasmania, only 8 of whom were Christians.<sup>85</sup> The Bishop stressed the need for evangelizing the Chinese in his Synod address in April 1893,<sup>86</sup> and £50 was voted for this purpose. In July 1893, Church News announced that an Evangelist, Jack Fan, was training in Sydney, Tasmania paying 18/- per week for his upkeep.<sup>87</sup> In August 1894 it was announced that Jack Fan was to have another year's study,<sup>88</sup> but on 11 August Yung Choy arrived in Launceston in his stead. He worked at Garibaldi and Weldborough under Owen Jacson's supervision on a stipend of £104 p.a., but by June 1895 all funds to pay him had been used up.<sup>89</sup> Progress was slow, and difficult to gauge, as Yung Choy spoke no English.

In May 1896, Church News, reported that 9 Chinese had been baptised, "but it is a source of perplexity to us to know how far there was real change of heart. It is so difficult to understand Yung Choy and his countrymen".<sup>90</sup> In March 1896, Yung Choy had been replaced by Jack Fan, but £40 was still owing to the former. The Bishop personally had to collect £30 to help remove this debt, and the Northern Secretary, had

85. Church News, September 1894, p.141.

86. Church News, May 1893, p.852.

87. Church News, July 1893, p.891.

88. Church News, August 1894, p.131.

89. Church News, June 1895, p.291.

90. Church News, May 1896, p.460.

great difficulty in settling the account.<sup>91</sup> On this depressing note, the Chinese Mission faded out; although Montgomery declared in the January 1897 Church News that he wanted another Catechist,<sup>92</sup> no further attempt was in fact made.

Although the numbers registered as "Church of England" grew under Montgomery from 80,906 in 1889 to 87,800 in 1902, with a peak of 93,043 in 1900, the percentage of Anglicans had fallen from 53.41% in 1889, with a peak of 54.01% in 1892, to 49.58% in 1902.<sup>93</sup> However, these statistics give a false picture. Montgomery qualitatively changed the Church's temper; his episcopate, as Archdeacon A.C. David of Brisbane wrote, was "characterized by contagious enthusiasm".<sup>94</sup> Financial difficulties and mediocre clergy caused some failures, but the diocese in general achieved more than under any other Bishop. "I was ever a Bush Bishop" Montgomery recollected,<sup>95</sup> and country areas made quite remarkable progress.

91. Diocesan Council Letter File XX1, B, 24 August 1896, M.E. Robinson/RSH.

92. Church News, January 1897, p.588.

93. Parlt. Papers, 1889-1891; Year Books, 1892-1902.

94. A.E. David, Australia, (London, 1908), p.148.

95. G.W. Shoobridge MSS, 25 December 1902, Bp/G.W. Shoobridge.

## CHAPTER II : DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION.

A few months before Montgomery arrived, Dean Dundas wrote:

"We greatly need to be freed from some half dozen of the Incumbents, & to have them replaced by men of education & energy. As it is we are getting very weak in men, and have hardly had a single addition of late years who is worth anything - while we have lost more than one... The general status of the clergy has been lowered by the ordination of some who wd. (in my opinion) have been better as Lay Readers".<sup>1</sup>

Montgomery himself believed that a Bishop's most difficult task was the choice of suitable clergy.<sup>2</sup> Priests who made personal application for work in Tasmania, or who replied to press advertisements, both in England and Australia, were accepted only after Montgomery had obtained assurances of their worth from those in authority. He refused to accept clergy who did not meet his rigid standards, which were higher than most earlier or later bishops. Two were dismissed within two months of his arrival, and another resigned to escape this fate. Archdeacon Hales, as Administrator, had saved him trouble by dismissing two before he arrived. Montgomery was in general successful in his choice of clergy; he claimed, with reason, to have had the best clerical staff in Tasmanian history.<sup>3</sup> But occasionally

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1. S.P.G., Miscellaneous letters, 4 Feb. 1889, C.L. Dundas/W.F. Kemp.
  2. Church News, August 1901, p. 121.
  3. ibid.

he made exceptions to his strict rule, and accepted a doubtful clergyman; and, as he warned his fellow bishops, "once in, there he stays and you repent at great leisure. My sad experience is that to give another chance hardly ever succeeds".<sup>4</sup>

"We are a Church of gentlemen",<sup>5</sup> Montgomery wrote, and he looked for clergy who fulfilled this condition. He also sought men of enthusiasm, industry, spiritual qualities, and a breadth of view; he refused to employ extreme low or high churchmen. "In private, I used to say to all clergy - "I will support you so long as you don't persecute others. If you persecute others, I shall be an enemy." <sup>6</sup> This system of choosing moderate clergy was very successful.

"All the clergy are your children",<sup>7</sup> Montgomery told later Bishops, and he consistently lived up to this principle, supporting his clergy as much as possible. Financially, he made good stipend deficiencies in country parishes at severe cost to his own resources. In matters of discipline, he would reprimand a priest strongly in private: "You can't be too honest, if you have a loving heart".<sup>8</sup> When disciplinary action was

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4. H.H.Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop...(London,1905) p.3.

5. Bishop's Letter Book, p.353.

6. H.H.Montgomery, op. cit. p.14.

7. ibid, p.2

8. ibid, p.18

taken, it was only with the fullest approval of his advisers: there was nothing dictatorial about it, although some displaced parsons alleged this.

State paid clergy were nearly all "lazy and indifferent", in Canon Beresford's view.<sup>9</sup> Only three of these survived in 1889, W. W. F. Murray at New Norfolk, Canon Banks Smith at St. George's, Hobart, and Archdeacon Hales; of these, the Bishop wrote in 1892, "Murray is by far the least efficient - so much so that I asked him some two years ago to retire. He refused".<sup>10</sup> Murray finally retired with a Government Pension on 1 January 1894, to Montgomery's relief.<sup>11</sup> Banks Smith, after being involved in a bitter dispute with his curate, H. C. Wisdom, was requested privately by the Bishop to resign "for the general good" in August 1901;<sup>12</sup> while this was being arranged, Smith died in April 1902. The third Imperial Chaplain, Francis Hales, anticipated Banks Smith's death by almost two years. Hales was the most effective of the three, although Montgomery wished to take the office of Archdeacon away from him in 1895.<sup>13</sup>

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9. 1894 Congress, p. 197.

10. Bishop's Secretary Letter File, D, 28. Nov. 1892, Bishop Montgomery/ Adye Douglas.

11. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS, 42 and Chief Secretary's Office/H/1710.

12. Bishop's Letter Book, p. 469, 14 August 1901, Bishop Montgomery/Banks Smith.

13. See Bishop W.R.Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS.48

Incompetent clergy who were incumbents of a parish could not be dismissed by the Bishop without doctrinal or moral reasons. Clergy inducted to a parish could not be moved without their consent. Ecclesiastical Courts existed for the removal of the immoral, alcoholic, or heretical, but Montgomery preferred to dismiss them directly, acting on advice, thus avoiding publicity. He removed several of these, both on arrival and later, but in many parishes he had to suffer the incompetencies of aged clergy without any ability to remedy this. Lack of an adequate pension scheme prevented his using pressure to oust aged clergy; in most cases they remained in the parish till death, or an incapacitating illness. Most of these incompetent clergy were in Tasmania before Montgomery arrived.

The Bishop did all in his power to make his clergy more effective. Church News printed many articles to encourage clerical efficiency, and Montgomery would sometimes send strongly-worded letters to his less competent clergy, asking for details of their work, and urging more effort on their part. Clerical Societies operated in both Hobart and Launceston, with regular meetings, and country clergy were encouraged to meet after the establishment of Rural Deaneries in 1895.

At these gatherings, both theological and practical questions were debated. The Bishop's especial weapon against inertia was his system of Quiet Days for his clergy. To Montgomery, this was one of his most important tasks, and he warned later Bishops against their being taken lightly. "Build up the reputation for them as being intense... I took months of thought over them".<sup>14</sup> He stressed that all the clergy, especially the more solitary ones, should attend. By April 1900, he had held 23 Quiet Days in the south, and 22 in the north.<sup>15</sup> Montgomery also conducted Quiet Days for the wives of clergy, and occasionally for Hobart Church workers. Attendance at the Quiet Days suggests that they were successful.

Two funds were in existence in 1889 to provide for aged clergy, and their families on their decease. These were the Clerks' Superannuation Fund, and the Clergy Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and both were virtually ineffectual. The first of these funds was of considerable importance to the Bishop, who, in his 1891 Synod address, stressed the need for an efficient pension scheme which would enable him to retire some of his aged and physically incapable clergy.<sup>16</sup> However, all attempts to form an

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14. H. H. Montgomery, op cit, p.5

15. Church News, April 1900, p.52

16. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.1.



adequate Superannuation Fund during the early 1890's failed through lack of capital. Then, with Montgomery's support, the 1896 General Synod established an Australian Superannuation Fund whereby the Sydney Diocese's fund was opened to clergy of other Dioceses. By 1902, 26 Tasmanian clergy had availed themselves of this new scheme,<sup>17</sup> which had benefits no single Diocese could provide.

The Clergy Widows' and Orphans' Fund was also in a weak condition in 1889. An attempt to join the Sydney Fund in 1892 was rebuffed by Sydney,<sup>18</sup> but an improved local fund was brought into operation in 1900. However, Tasmania's only real hope for an adequate scheme was on an Australia-wide basis.

If the funds available to help clergy in old age or death were inadequate, so also were the funds to support them during their active ministry. The economic history of the Tasmanian Church under Montgomery was a continuous struggle to provide adequate stipends for the clergy, and to keep the church solvent.

The main cause of Tasmania's financial difficulties was that Church members were parsimonious. Those willing to help were tied down by parochial interests; the diocesan

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17. Church News, March 1902, p. 39

18. 1893 Year Book, p.60

feeling was small, with resultant impoverishment of the General Church Fund, the major fund to pay for Diocesan administration and the stipends of country clergy. The General Church Fund relied both on bi-annual church collections, and on private subscribers; the former declined from £1,341.9.0 in 1889 to £302.18.0 in 1897.<sup>19</sup> and the latter from 237 in 1891 to under 80 in 1901.<sup>20</sup> Added to this, the depression which commenced in 1891 meant a loss to the church of interest on the total invested capital of £1,500 per annum.<sup>21</sup>

To cure the financial difficulties of the Diocese which had a deficit balance in seven of Montgomery's 12 years of office, several special efforts were made by the Diocesan authorities. Local appeals were generally successful, as the exceptional growth in building shows, but these often left a legacy of debt upon the parish, thereby worsening the chronic stipend deficiencies. Few country parishes paid their rector the alleged minimum of £250 per annum.<sup>22</sup> To make up the full stipend was the task of the G. C. F.

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19. 1890 and 1898 Year Book.

20. Church News, February 1891, p. 407, and June 1901, p. 90

21. Church News, March 1902, p. 41

22. See 1896 Year Book, p. 76

The 1895 Synod approved the formation of parochial auxiliaries for the G. C. F., but these had little effect. No more successful was a Direct Giving Movement begun in 1894. The 1897 Jubilee Fund to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee raised £750 instead of the £4,000 expected; this was partly due to opposition to the Fund led by Archdeacon Hales.<sup>23</sup> The most original scheme came with the establishment in 1898 of the Children's Home Mission Fund, with Mrs Montgomery as General Secretary. A ladies branch was formed in 1899. Both Funds raised £181.5.2 in 1899,<sup>24</sup> but the initial enthusiasm soon waned, in spite of Mrs Montgomery's visits to country parishes. The final major effort was made in 1899, when Synod approved a proposal that Whittington travel round Tasmania to re-organize the G. C. F. He publicized the Fund, and enrolled new subscribers, but the result of both his efforts and those of Mrs Montgomery was that total subscriptions and collections for the G. C. F. in the years 1898 to 1901 were £932.11.5., £1,003.9.6, £833.11.3, and £802.16.10 respectively.<sup>25</sup>

Montgomery gave between one-third and one-quarter of his salary to the Church. At the 1899 Synod, when his £200

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23. Examiner, 21 May 1897, p.6.

24. Diocesan Council Minute Book, 1897-1908, p.68, 30 January 1900.

25. 1899-1902 Year Book.

per annum pension was discussed, he stated that "nothing will ever induce me to accept a pension".<sup>26</sup> The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge also helped, giving over £1,833 to church buildings in this period.<sup>27</sup>

In the general Diocesan sphere, Montgomery and his leading advisors managed to overhaul nearly all facets of Church organization and endeavour. He attempted in the years 1890 to 1893 to organize lay help to aid the work of the clergy, but the initial impetus of this movement soon expired. However, a Lay-Readers' Library had been formed, and a better system of licenses devised. Churchwardens' Regulations were also revised, and Parish Councils begun in 1898, with the radical feature of female franchise and membership. The Councils did not prove effective. Synod procedure was elaborated and re-organized, both in the interests of better legislative decisions, and of making it more of a social gathering and publicity highlight for the Church.

Montgomery realized the value of publicizing Church work, and supported all church publications. However, he did not control the editors, or attempt to prescribe their views. The Diocesan paper was Church News, for which Montgomery wrote many articles not only on missions or local church work, but also detailed

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26. Clipper, 22 April 1898, p.2.

27. S.P.C.K. Microfilm.

accounts of his trips to the more unusual areas of the Diocese, such as the West Coast and Bass Strait. The paper had considerable difficulties with finance and circulation; attempts were made to popularize it, with little immediate effect. It was amongst the best church papers in Australia; the Primate singled it out specifically at the 1896 General Synod, and attempted to refute its arguments on proposed legislation.<sup>28</sup> It was scrupulously impartial between High and Low Church, though extreme Evangelicals in the years 1899 to 1901 strongly attacked its alleged doctrinal bias.

In 1895, the St John's Launceston parish magazine expanded into the Church Messenger, a penny monthly dealing especially with local news. With a circulation of 2,000 in its first year, it threatened Church News, which wished to amalgamate the two papers.<sup>29</sup> When the Messenger finally agreed to this in November 1902, Church News' standard declined.

Besides these two main papers, there were several parish magazines, most with a high mortality rate. The Year Book of the Diocese was expanded considerably. To promulgate these papers, and books of interest to churchmen, a Diocesan Book Depot had opened in 1889, and this firmly established

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28. Church News, November 1896, p.555

29 Church News, Committee of Management, Minutes Book, 25 July 1900.

itself during the 1890's. There were, however, some disputes over the High Church leanings of some of the books sold,<sup>30</sup> which even led one Evangelical to move at the 1901 Synod that it be disbanded. He withdrew his motion.<sup>31</sup>

In the central organization of the Diocese, three important structural changes were introduced in this period. The post of Diocesan Secretary began early in 1889, with Robert Shirley Hales, son of the Archdeacon, filling the position. He amalgamated ten posts formerly held by various people. His salary, £500 per annum, was double the official clerical stipend, and caused considerable dispute; after his death, it was reduced to £350 per annum. The centralization of work at the Diocesan Office not only made administration more efficient, but also reduced expenses.<sup>32</sup> Shirley Hales was replaced, after his death on 5 October 1896, by George H. Bailey, who carried on his predecessor's good work.

In 1895, Tasmania was divided into ten Rural Deaneries; by 1901, this number had grown to 12. This was Montgomery's plan, and it had the desired effect of creating through its Ruridecanal Meetings more interest in the practical work of the church.

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30. Christian Record, May 1900, pp.13-14.

31. Christian Record, February 1901, p. 126.

32. Diocesan Letter Book 1890 - 1892, pp.386-387, February 1891, Robert Shirley Hales's memo.

However, enthusiasm waned after a few years, and the failure of Rural Deaneries in the financial sphere was blatant.

The innovation which Montgomery most valued, and which was carried largely through his own endeavours, was the introduction of the One Archdeacon Scheme. He knew his limitations, and the way to solve them. "I have always felt that though I have had to hold many important positions, I never possessed the qualities necessary for them".<sup>33</sup> "A man who comes to my time of life does not need to be told his own limitations. I know them well. Also I think any one in my position if he is worth his salt will do his very best to get round him men who can best make up those limitations".<sup>34</sup> Montgomery was a good leader, inspiring enthusiasm and devotion in his followers: to utilize the talents of the best of these, F. T. Whittington, he wished to make him a roving Archdeacon without the burden of a parish. The creation of an Assistant Bishop was neither necessary nor desirable; Montgomery's policy was to delegate power, not share it, and an Archdeacon free to carry out any order was his ideal. In this, as in other cases of administrative re-organization, his military heritage was evident.

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33. Bishop's Letter Book, p. 360, 1 October 1900, Bishop Montgomery/  
A. R. A. Beresford.

34. Bishop's Letter Book, p. 347, 19 September 1900, Bishop Montgomery/  
F. T. Whittington.

Until Francis Hales' death, there was one Archdeacon in Hobart and another in Launceston, each with a Parish, but expected to visit parishes in his Archdeaconry when necessary. With the age and fragility of Hales, and the ill-health of A. N. Mason, Archdeaconal visitation was rare. But Whittington was different : when Dundas brought him to Tasmania, he remarked to Prebendary Tucker of S. P. G. that "he would make a first-rate Bishop".<sup>35</sup> A man of great vitality and humour, he was at once a valued assistant and friend to the Bishop. He replaced Mason as Archdeacon after the latter's death in February 1895, and Montgomery immediately planned to remove Hales, and establish Whittington as sole Archdeacon for Tasmania.

Hales, in spite of growing bodily debility, had no inclination to retire, and if churchmen had realised that the Bishop wished to remove him, there would have been strong opposition, especially from the Evangelicals, for Hales was their patriarch. The 1892 Synod had replaced Hales by Dean Dundas as Administrator<sup>36</sup> which led to protests in the Launceston papers, and a petition to the Bishop from several evangelicals that Synod's action was invalid : this was rejected.<sup>37</sup>

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35. S.P.G. Original Letters Received, vol. for Africa and Australia, 1893, 17 Sept. 1893, C.L. Dundas/H.W. Tucker.

36. The Administrator controlled the Diocese in the absence of the Bishop, and during a vacancy of the see.

37. Council of Advice Minutes Book, 7 June 1892 and 10 June 1892.



At the 1895 Synod, Whittington was made Administrator as Dundas was in England: this brought renewed charges that Hales was being deposed.<sup>38</sup> The continued respect for Hales meant that the intention of removing him was never made public.

In November 1894, Dean Dundas suggested privately, that Whittington be made Assistant Bishop, thus avoiding trouble with Hales.<sup>39</sup> The following month, the Bishop gave out a private memorandum to the Diocesan Council with his suggestions for a One- Archdeacon scheme. His proposal was to liberate the Archdeacon from the burdens of a parish, thereby allowing him to visit every parish annually to inspect the state of its lands, buildings, and finance. He was only to hold office for a term of years, the post being removed on physical decline or if the job ceased to hold any real interest for him. Montgomery wished it to be studied "from an abstract point of view".<sup>40</sup>

In the March 1895 Church News, Montgomery announced that he wished this principle affirmed by Synod, and gave details of the plan. He specifically stated this did not reflect on either Mason or Hales.<sup>41</sup> But in the same month, he was receiving letters from fellow Bishops answering his appeal for advice on

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38. Church News, May 1895, p.272

39. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS. 38, 20 November 1894, C.L.Dundas/Bishop Montgomery.

40. Whittington MSS, December 1894, Bishop's memo for Diocesan Council

41. Church News, March 1895, p.236.

how to remove Hales. The latter's licence as Archdeacon was indefinite, and the Bishop was uncertain of his powers of dismissal. Montgomery was planning to leave Hales the title of "Archdeacon", but remove his jurisdiction.<sup>42</sup> Synod approved the principle of a single Archdeacon with no parochial duties, in spite of Hales' opposition.<sup>43</sup>

Rumour was rife that a radical change was planned; the Tasmanian Democrat reported that it was planned to establish a Co-adjutor Bishop.<sup>44</sup> But the Bishop did not foreseeably retire Hales, and the two Archdeacon system lasted until his demise. However, Whittington was used more widely, and after 1899, travelled throughout Tasmania for the G.C.F. virtually as sole Archdeacon. Hales was feeling his age by this date, and was willing that Whittington should do his work for him.<sup>45</sup>

On 10 July 1900, Francis Hales died. Immediately, the Bishop prepared to make Whittington sole Archdeacon. Such an innovation brought with it many problems, of which Whittington was well aware. He told Montgomery on 27 July that :

"when in your first letter you wrote of the one-Archdeacon as possible, & added "You must take it, I think," my first impulse was to remind yr. lordship that months ago I had written you that...I wanted

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42. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS 48.

43. Church News, May 1895, p.271

44. Tasmanian Democrat, 26 April, 1895, p.1

45. For example, Bishop W.R.Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS 46, 23 October 1899, F.Hales/Bishop Montgomery.

you to know I felt I could not exchange the certainty of a rector's position for one which would depend on several variable circumstances. And of course now there is the additional fact that we know many of the clergy & laity think I ought to go to Holy Trinity Launceston. But I have always felt it my duty to try & be loyal to my Bishop's policy - if at all possible."

He was prepared to stay in Hobart or go to Launceston at the Bishop's discretion, and made some suggestions about the financing of the plan. There was one point on which Whittington was insistent: "to ask the clergy to subscribe to an Archdeacon's Stipend Fund would be unjustifiable. Indeed I feel it would be impossible for me to accept the post if any of the income were so raised."<sup>46</sup> However, he was still undecided in September whether he should accept the position; Montgomery therefore wrote, giving his reasons for the creation of the post. "I know no one in Australia whose gifts I value more highly than I do yours - gifts which in great part I lack. I would do anything to utilize those gifts to the utmost ... It is not only your peculiar gifts which I value but your remarkable and constant loyalty to me".<sup>47</sup> Whittington accepted the position.

The main problem was to finance the scheme. Every meeting of the Diocesan Council was concerned with this question,

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46. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS.48.

27 July 1900, F.T. Whittington/Bishop Montgomery.

47. Bishop's Letter Book, pp.347-348, 19 September 1900, Bishop Montgomery/F.T. Whittington.

48. Diocesan Council Minute Book, September-November 1900.

as were the Ruridecanal Conferences. The Bishop gave these bodies a free hand in deciding the financing of his proposed scheme. Whittington calculated that £375 from the Diocese and £65 from New Town was the smallest amount he could accept.<sup>49</sup> The final arrangement was that the Bishop gave £100, the Diocesan Secretary £30, Marriage Fees were doubled, giving £80, the former grant of £50 to both Archdeacons went to Whittington, and the £115 remaining was to come from the extra subscriptions and donations expected for the G. C. F.<sup>50</sup>

The Christian Record, the extremist Evangelical mouthpiece, strongly opposed appointing Whittington, "a most dangerous man",<sup>51</sup> sole Archdeacon. "Few steps could well be taken more dangerous in the highest interests of the Church of England".<sup>52</sup> The plan was regarded as a plot between the Bishop and Whittington to subvert the Protestant and Reformed Church of England. And not only the Evangelicals were wary of the new scheme: Church News published a leading article in November opposing it. The News wanted three Archdeacons, not one: it alleged that the old machinery had failed only because Hales should have been replaced

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49. Bishop W.R.Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS 48, 2 November 1900 A.R.A.Beresford/Bishop Montgomery.

50. 1901 Year Book, pp.31-32.

51. Christian Record, April 1901, p.10

52. Christian Record, October, 1900, p.75.

ten years earlier.<sup>53</sup> However, the plan was accepted by the 1901 Synod with much less opposition than forecast. One reason was, as Beresford, later Archdeacon himself, wrote, there were no suitable men to be archdeacons.<sup>54</sup> There was also a danger, which the senior clergy and laity realized, that Whittington might leave Tasmania if his talents were not sufficiently utilized.

The Bishop was delighted to have Whittington in his new post: he wrote in March 1901 that "the comfort of having you free to face these situations is unspeakable - I don't know myself".<sup>55</sup> In both his sermon after his resignation was announced, and his last Synod Address, he spoke of the lightening of his burden by the scheme, and urged its retention.<sup>56</sup> The Evangelicals did not agree,<sup>57</sup> and Whittington himself told the 1902 Synod that being sole Archdeacon placed considerable strain upon him.<sup>58</sup> Financially, the scheme did not fulfil expectations, and it was disbanded in 1905.

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53. Church News, November 1900, p.176.

54. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS 48, 2 November, 1900, A. R. A. Beresford/Bishop Montgomery.

55. Bishop's Letter Book p.418, 14 March 1901, Bishop Montgomery/  
F.T. Whittington.

56. Church News, August 1901, p.121, and November 1901, p.169

57. Christian Record, October 1901, p. 87

58. 1902 Year Book, p. 24 - 25.

One of the major problems in Diocesan organization was the deep-rooted rivalry between Northern and Southern Tasmania. To offset Northern opposition to losing its Archdeacon, Montgomery had to promise it fuller representation on the Cathedral Chapter.<sup>59</sup> There had even been suggestions that there should be a bishop for Northern Tasmania,<sup>60</sup> and requests for Synod to be held in Launceston were common. Several attempts were made to draw the north more closely into the Diocesan machinery. After 1891, Montgomery spent one month off the year working from a Northern base. Northern members were added to the Diocesan Council in 1893, but this was unsuccessful, as they could rarely attend meetings. A more practical venture was begun when the 1901 Synod approved the establishment of a Board of Advice for the North. This was <sup>to</sup> inform the Diocesan Council of the opinion on administrative questions of Rural Deaneries outside the Archdeaconry of Hobart. And to placate Northern requests for Synod to be held in Launceston, the first of a series of Diocesan Conferences was held there in January 1897. These, held almost every year, were increasingly successful, with mainland as well as local speakers.

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59. Bishop W. R. Barrett's Collection of Montgomery MSS 48, Bishop's 1900 Circular re "One Archdeaconry".

60. For example, Church News, June 1890, p.274.

The Church Messenger in August 1896 charged that the Diocesan organization was feeble and timid.<sup>61</sup> Canon Kelly, Editor of the Messenger, was even more outspoken in private. When writing to Shirley Hales in July 1896, he complained:

"We are so beastly indifferent ... to our own internal affairs in the Diocese. I confess I am sometimes discouraged to last degree in this way... I am perfectly sure we allow things to slide in a listless way that would wreck any ordinary institution... I wish to goodness we could go round in a strong body half a dozen at a time, & rampage here & there & wake up our good people... However, I despair of every getting out of the jog trot".<sup>62</sup>

Kelly's pessimism was warranted: The Church, on occasions, and usually at the instigation of Montgomery and Whittington, got out of its jog-trot, but after having established its new organ or revitalized an old one, soon sank back into lethargy. All organizations intended to help the work of the Diocese lost their impetus within a year or two of birth. The root cause of all this was, as Kelly complained, the general indifference and apathy of the vast majority of the Church of England, including many of the clergy and laity most involved in Diocesan organization.

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61. Church Messenger, August 1896, p.15.

62. Diocesan Council Letter Film XX, K. July 1896, Kelly/Robert Shirley Hales.

CHAPTER III BASS STRAIT

"Think of the lighthouse people, and any who are out of the way at all", Montgomery urged later Bishops. "Visit them. I always said that those outside the clergyman's touch ... were my special care. No trouble too great for such folk".<sup>1</sup> Principal amongst those out of the way in the Diocese of Tasmania were the settlers on the Bass Strait Islands, especially the half-castes of Cape Barren Island. On these, Bishop Montgomery spent more time and energy than any other Tasmanian Bishop, or indeed, almost any other Tasmanian. He played a major role in every aspect of the islanders' life, and acted as a link between them and the civilized world. This was Montgomery's greatest effort, and his greatest failure.

The half-castes needed all the spiritual and material help they could be given. Edward Stephens, teacher at Cape Barren Island from 1890 to 1897 inclusive, wrote, at Montgomery's request, an article for the Royal Society on their origins and characteristics. He was doubtful whether one family could be found that had not descended from criminals of the worst possible type. Physically they were poor: "there are some specimens of humanity here which would make a fortune if exhibited (sic) in the cities of the world". Work in the "white" sense was "absolutely unintelligible" to them. He felt they were regressing to the aboriginal state, and instanced the habit of some of eating their

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1. H.H. Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop ...  
(London, ? 1905), p.17.



excrement as an example of this. Generally, the women were virtuous, "but when they do break out, their intercourse with the other sex is rather extensive".<sup>2</sup> The women were rarely drunk, but the men "never weary of it".<sup>3</sup> One reason for this moral laxity was the example set them by the whites. Stephens gave several examples of commercial trickery by leading Launceston firms which existed in the 1890's.<sup>4</sup> "To me it is a cause of wonder how a people of so peculiar an origin should be as good as they are".<sup>5</sup> He had found that kindness could win their confidence, but his son Charles, who succeeded him as school-master, wrote in 1910 that their inherent hatred of the white race was ever-present, and burst into prominence upon the slightest provocation.<sup>6</sup>

As for the children, the remarks of the School Inspector are apposite. They were "naturally half-wild, and out of school speak with a kind of jabber";<sup>7</sup> very slow to learn, with great difficulty in grasping anything of an abstract nature, it was very difficult to ascertain their knowledge, "as they are timid and reticent by nature".<sup>8</sup>  
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 Their intelligence was below the average.

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2. E.W. Stephens, The Furneaux Islands. Their Early Settlement, and some Characteristics of their Inhabitants, (Launceston, 1899), pp.6-9.
  3. Ibid p.27.
  4. Ibid pp.14.15.
  5. Ibid p.25.
  6. P.O./108/2/10, 27 October 1910, C.E. Stephens/Premier.
  7. Ed. Dept. 110/732, J. Masters' Report, 1893.
  8. Ed. Dept. 110/733, J. Masters' Report, 1894.
  9. Ed. Dept. 110/737, file 293, J. Rule's Report, 1898.

On such unpromising material, Montgomery planned to bestow the gifts of civilization and Christianity. He was not the first: visits to attend to their spiritual welfare had been made by Bishops Nixon and Sandford, Archdeacon Thomas Reibey, and Canon J.B. Brownrigg. The Islands were regarded as the special domain of the Bishop; during Montgomery's episcopate, he was the only priest of any denomination to visit the Straits. On the educational side, Henry Collis was teacher at Cape Barren and Badger Islands after 1871, until ill-health forced him to resign 15 years later. That these people had little success is shown by the quotations given above.

On 24 June, 1888, Edward William Stephens, 47, applied to be schoolteacher at Cape Barren Island.<sup>10</sup> He was at the time in charge of the Bangor School, and had earlier experience of teaching and journalism. Stephens was an Anglican, with Swedenborgian opinions,<sup>11</sup> and Montgomery guaranteed to pay him £50 annually for visiting the islands on missionary work. On 11 June 1890, Stephens and his wife were appointed to the newly constructed school. The permanence of the appointment depended on their success. Stephens was to spend one week in every four on church work.<sup>12</sup> The school opened in August, 21 attending.

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10. Ed. Dept. Register 110/64, 9437, 24 June 1888, E.W. Stephens/  
T. Stephens.

11. Ed. Dept., 3713/1077.

12. Bp's Secretary's Letter File, S, 11 June 1890, T. Stephens/  
E. Stephens.

The arrangement under which the school operated, with the teacher partly controlled by the Education Department, and partly by the Church of England, and financially supported by both, was unique in Tasmanian education. Its history became even more unique, as Montgomery, being more cognisant of the needs of the School and the ability of the teachers than the Education Department, was on most important problems the true arbiter of Departmental action. Inspections from the Department were rare, the Director of Education commented to Montgomery in 1896 that "I fear that after your departure there will be no one to undertake the duty of visiting the Islands".<sup>13</sup>

Montgomery visited the Furneaux Group in March 1891, the first of ten annual trips. He was delighted with the Islands, and wrote about his experiences at great length in eight issues of Church News,<sup>14</sup> speaking very favourably of both Stephens and the half-castes. Many of the islands were visited, Montgomery baptizing as he went. He wrote of Stephens's trials, especially his being alone for 8 weeks when the half-castes were birding; Stephens, however, was bearing up well under the strain, building a boat, starting a garden, and constructing two additional rooms at his own expense.<sup>15</sup> The Bishop had great faith in him.<sup>16</sup> The School was receiving gratifying interest from the half-castes: they made 390 visits

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13. Ed. Dept. 110/1063, Director's L.R., p.20, 7 February 1896, J. Rule/Dp.

14. Church News, April-December 1891.

15. Church News, October 1891, p.530.

16. Church News, December 1891, p.563.

to watch it in action during 1890.<sup>17</sup>

Montgomery gave a long list of practical suggestions to help the half-castes. He saw himself not only as a force for their spiritual salvation, but also for their material welfare. The Government should act generously to the half-castes, he felt, but warned that they were not the same as whites, and should be protected against themselves. He disliked the common right to the 6,000 acre Reserve, as this prevented initiative. Instead, blocks should either be sold or placed on a long lease, restrictions being made against the easy selling of land; this would lead to cultivation replacing grazing. He wanted the half-castes grouped on Cape Barren Island for education and protection from vice, rather than scattered over the various islands. They must be kept from drink. They should also be given the vote, as this would ensure their self-respect and their voice in parliament would help to protect the mutton bird industry.<sup>18</sup>

The Bishop's interest in mutton birds was not merely gastronomical. His visits to the rookeries had shown the urgent need for supervision of the industry, of which there was none before he arrived. He warned that if the mutton birds were not protected, they would be gone within 20 years<sup>19</sup> and listed practical regulations, especially stressing that there

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17. Ed. Dept. 110/731, J. Masters' Report, 12 February 1892.

18. Church News, December 1891, p.563.

19. Church News, May 1891, p.452.

must be a closed season and a fixed starting date for birding. Montgomery gave the first of his lectures on the mutton bird industry to the Royal Society 21 April 1891, based on his nocturnal observations on the Chappell Island rooking. These lectures gave valuable publicity to the industry. He repeated his earlier requests, plus some other detailed changes.<sup>20</sup> On 15 December, three islands were reserved for birding<sup>21</sup> the Government established a closed season, and implemented almost all of Montgomery's suggestions.

"One of the happiest visits I have ever enjoyed in the discharge of the duties of my office"<sup>22</sup> was begun by Montgomery when, with Joseph Masters, Inspector of Schools, he arrived at Cape Barren Island on 5 February 1892. He found a huge "Welcome" sign nailed outside the school-house, with an arch of flowers and evergreens leading up to it. After school, the whole population met in the schoolroom, and presented an address of welcome prepared by the Schoolmaster, and signed by every available inhabitant: 81, of whom 70 were half-castes. The Bishop wrote of this address: "I think none has touched me more".<sup>23</sup>

There was a likeable, childlike streak in Montgomery, who was able to lose himself entirely in the joys of the unfamiliar. This was reflected in his wholehearted adoption of the welfare of the half-castes as his own responsibility, and expressed in his detailed articles in Church News,

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20. Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania, 1891, pp.1-10, H.H. Montgomery, "Some Account of the Mutton Birds" ...

21. Hobart Gazette, 15 December 1891.

22. Church News, March 1892, p.614.

23. Ibid, p.615.

articles vibrant with wit and philanthropy. But these qualities misled him in his estimation of the half-castes' virtues. He lived in a tent, doing his own cooking, and thoroughly enjoying himself. Outside his tent he set up a board inscribed "Bishopscourt", which he left on his departure as a sign of his intended return; he hoped to lease the 4 square feet of tentspace from the Government. In Church News, he wrote enthusiastically that "There is more peace and goodwill here, more real unity than we can find almost anywhere upon the mainland".<sup>24</sup> The half-castes were incapable of stealing and were developing self-control; they should be given the vote, and protected from the unprincipled.<sup>25</sup> To the Director of Education, he wrote

"I find the half-castes much advanced in general steadiness and self-respect. Drunkenness is becoming very uncommon. It would not exist on the Island were it not for the visits of the "Linda".<sup>26</sup>

The population loves the school, and is perfectly regular at all religious services.

It is not an inapt illustration to liken the community there to the Pitcairn Islanders. Their life is so united and is so much helped in the ways of a simple godliness".<sup>27</sup>

Masters meanwhile was making his first inspection of the new school. On his first visit, Montgomery had noted that Stephens had some erratic tendencies. He was refused permission to establish a fish-curing industry on October 1890, and censored in September 1891 for disregarding instructions. The Director disapproved of commercial transactions between

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24. Ibid

25. Church News, June 1892, pp.681-682.

26. A visiting steamer which provided alcohol.

27. B.C. 47, 15 February 1892, Bp/T. Stephens.

one of his family and the half-castes, and that Stephens had told the latter of "certain alleged rights of theirs, which are purely imaginary".<sup>28</sup> Stephens had also written to the press without authority. He was warned against acting as an independent officer, and would not be kept by the Department "unless the Bishop, to whom reference will have to be made from time to time ... reports satisfactorily".<sup>29</sup> However, when Masters inspected the school the following February, he found everything to be satisfactory. There were 40 pupils, Mrs. Stephens helping her husband by teaching full-time. The management of the school was "firm but kind and sympathetic. Order is maintained rather by personal influence than by exact methods. The children are remarkably obedient and respectful. Tone gratifying".<sup>30</sup> The teacher had worked out a uniform for his charges, bearing the cost himself.<sup>31</sup> Stephens was not in fact taking every fourth week away from the school on mission work, but devoting himself full time to it. Montgomery told the Director of Education on his return that "I don't know where we could look for a family more fitted for this most peculiar post"; Stephens' usefulness was "impossible to over-estimate".<sup>32</sup>

Montgomery also wrote to the Government, urging that the constable should be moved to the Township on Cape Barren; at that time he was 20 miles away, with only one neighbour, and therefore "practically useless".

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<sup>28</sup>. Ed. Dept. L.B., 110/327, p.555, 3 September 1891, T.Stephens/E.W.Stephens.  
<sup>29</sup>. Ibid, p.556.

<sup>30</sup>. Ed. Dept. 110/731, J. Masters' Report, 12 February, 1892.

<sup>31</sup>. Church News, April 1896, p.447.

<sup>32</sup>. B.C. 47, 15 February 1892, Bp/T. Stephens.

In June 1892, it was announced that Napper, the new policeman, would live at the township, as requested by the half-castes.<sup>33</sup> He also forwarded a request from the half-castes that Chappell Island be given a year's rest from birding, and recommended its acceptance. "I consider that such an evidence of foresight - first of its kind among this community deserves to be met with warm encouragement", and he offered to help its enforcement by collecting signatures of those who would observe the restriction.<sup>34</sup> This suggestion was published in Church News, Montgomery commenting that he was reluctant to believe reports that the half-castes were slaughtering immature birds, a practice they had petitioned the Government to prevent. "I feel that my own reputation is at stake in the matter";<sup>35</sup> it was, and, unfortunately for Montgomery, his informant was correct. Although the industry was fully regulated, strong efforts for the next 10 years had to be devoted to enforce these regulations.

Montgomery's religious efforts appeared to have very satisfactory results. He confirmed 31 at his 1892 visit, nearly all of whom were adults, and reported that the whole population attended every service.<sup>36</sup> To the Director of Education, he wrote that their unity in worship was "so decided that I cannot help viewing with satisfaction that an attempt by the Wesleyans to begin ministrations on the Island was seen by them to be out

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33. Church News, June 1892, p.682.

34. B.C. 47, 15 March 1892, Bp/Sir.

35. Church News, op cit, p.682.

36. Church News, March 1892, p.615.



of the question as Mr. Masters observed after viewing the work for himself "It would have been a crime to have intruded here".<sup>37</sup> No other Denominations attempted to interfere at any stage.

During January 1892, the Bishop had been in communication with the Crown Lands Office for permission to obtain half an acre in the Township on which to erect a Church Building.<sup>38</sup> In his March visit, the land was chosen by the half-castes, who agreed to build the church themselves if Tasmania provided the material, transporting this from Launceston on their own boats.<sup>39</sup> It was completed by November, and dedicated on 24 January 1893; a cemetery was dedicated on 2 February. Montgomery was loud in his praise of the workmanship of the church, which he announced would always be left open day and night. All 40 Communicants took Communion at the Dedication Service.

During February, the Bishop was transported by the half-castes around all the Islands in the Straits, going as far afield as the Kent Group and King Island. He rode the entire length of King Island with his friend J.W. Beattie, the photographer, who plied his art while Montgomery baptized in nearly all the settlements.<sup>40</sup> It was arranged that Mr. Dawson would act as lay reader, and conduct the religious education of the young, which the Bishop would examine on his next visit.<sup>41</sup> He reported the danger of

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37. B.C. 47, 15 February 1892, Bp/T. Stephens.

38. B.C. 47, letters dated 14 January and 15 January 1892.

39. Church News, April 1892, p.630.

40. Church News, June 1893, p.851.

41. Diocesan Register 1V, p.554, 29 April 1893, Bp/Dawson.

the extermination of the Cape Barren Geese, but received the assurance of Superintendent Whitehouse on Goose Island that these would be protected.

In his 1893 Synod Address, Montgomery announced that the half-caste children would join the other children of the Diocese in presenting offerings to the Cathedral Building Fund at the consecration of the Chancel on 18 January 1894.<sup>42</sup> The half-castes gave £1,13. 0.<sup>43</sup>

The Bishop next visited the Furneaux Islands in June 1894. He performed the first wedding in the new Church, organized bi-monthly services, and established two places of worship on Flinders Island. On more general affairs, he approved of Constable Napper's plan of moving nearer to the Township, and commented on the successful working of the Birding Act.<sup>44</sup> On his return to Tasmania, the Bishop spoke to the Royal Society on 14 August concerning the protection of mutton birds and seals, his talk resulting in a deputation, which included Montgomery, from the Royal Society and Fisheries Board to the Premier and Chief Secretary on 12 September, urging the granting of a closed season for the remaining seals in Bass Straits. Montgomery wished this industry to be preserved for the half-castes.<sup>45</sup> The request was granted.

Montgomery revisited King Island in May 1895, and arranged the

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42. Church News, May 1893, p.851.

43. Church News, February 1894, p.20.

44. Church News, August 1894, p.125.

45. Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania, 1894, pp. xiii - xv, pp. xxxiv - xxxvi.

religious education of the children. The final scheme was that a tutor spent three months on every lighthouse, and the Bishop arranged a "Bush Sunday School" under himself; he wrote to every scholar to encourage their labours.<sup>46</sup>

The Furneaux were next visited in August 1895. Montgomery was pleased to find that the half-castes, from their own volition, had built a road from Sandford Bay to the Township and the church. The latter was being painted, and it was hoped soon to equip it with better seats. However on the sealing question, his inquiries suggested that they would still be exterminated in spite of the new regulations.<sup>47</sup> The main reason for abuses of sealing was that the half-castes saw it as part of their livelihood, and shortsightedly raised loud protests at any restrictions.<sup>48</sup>

In October 1895, Stephens told the Bishop that the mail boat "G.V.H." had been wrecked, with the loss of all hands, and also Stephens' provisions.<sup>49</sup> The vessel was looted, but not by the churchgoers. The version of this letter published in Church News was carefully expurgated to give the impression that nobody looted the vessel; other remarks against the half-castes were also removed.<sup>50</sup> Montgomery appealed to the Education Department to help Stephens, and all teachers were asked by the Department for

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46. Church News, April 1896, p.447.

47. Church News, October 1895, p.351.

48. For example, P 0/180/96.

49. B.C. 47, 15 October 1896, E.W.Stephens/Bp.

50. Church News, November 1895, pp.364-365.

donations.<sup>51</sup> This wreck, the looting, and Stephens' resultant difficulties led to a complete breach of sympathy between him and the local inhabitants.

In April 1896, Montgomery summarized progress on Cape Barren. Between August 1890 and December 1895, there had been 816 services and Sunday School meetings. The Church of England had spent £425 on the church and in payment for Stephens' mission work; the Bishop's expenses, which, as he paid the cost of his trips to the Islands, were considerable, were not included in this total. The Education Department probably spent £1,150 on school and staff. Stephens had worked for 7,240 school weeks and spent a possible £140 on the half-castes, £87 of which was in charitable gifts. Therefore, at the lowest estimate, £1,700 had been spent in five years. Montgomery had baptised 101, of whom 58 were half-castes, confirmed 57, almost all of whom were half-castes, and married two couples. He wrote that "there can be no question that the half-caste population has advanced considerably," and were learning better methods of land utilization. The advance of the children in learning and general behaviour could "hardly be estimated. Formerly they hid in the bush, now they are prettily clothed and merry and without fear". This change was largely due to the Stephens family.<sup>52</sup>

Montgomery, who with his interest in mutton birds was earning the title "Our mutton-bird Bishop" from the less godly,<sup>53</sup> spent a whole night

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51. Ed. Dept. L.B., 110/338, p.235, 28 October 1895, Circular.

52. Church News, April 1896, p.447.

53. Clipper, 23 July 1898, p.5.

walking around one of the rookeries during his February 1896 visit. He gave an account of his experiences to the Royal Society on 15 June and reported that the birding regulations were "fairly well kept", though he suggested some further regulations. <sup>54</sup>

Behind all this news of progress, less encouraging events were taking place. The Tasmanian Democrat commented in June 1894 on Montgomery's visit to Cape Barren that "upon such occasions the half-castes are upon their best behaviour".<sup>55</sup> Before 1894, the Bishop would have considered this remark cynical, but in the next two years he lost the "noble savage" illusion he had cherished of the half-castes. In August 1894, came the first of many protests from the half-castes concerning the school, desiring a change of its management. The Director, Thomas Stephens, snubbed them. <sup>56</sup> His successor, James Rule, had farewelled Montgomery on his 1896 visit with the hope that he would find matters improving,<sup>57</sup> but immediately on his return, the Bishop wrote to the Director that Stephens was suffering from "heavy strain" and consequent depression" due to the half-castes' behaviour during the wreck of the G.V.H. He had been on the island continuously for 5 years, and it was "imperative that he should be forced to take a complete change". He urged the Department to agree to his decision to call Stephens immediately to Hobart. <sup>58</sup> Unknown to Montgomery, an

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54. Church News, op cit, p.447.

55. Tasmanian Democrat, 16 June 1894, p.3

56. Ed. Dept. L.B., 110/385, p.520, 5 October 1894, T. Stephens/  
T. Mansell

57. Ed. Dept. 110/1063, Director's L.B. p.20, 7 February 1896, J. Rule/Bp.

58. Ed. Dept. 3713/1077, 9 March 1896, Bp/J. Rule.

anonymous letter dated 12 February had already reached the Department, charging that Stephens had for years been intoxicated in the classroom, and in this state turned the scholars and sometimes even his wife and family out of doors. On 27 January, he had capped his earlier performances by firing in a fit of intoxicated bravado over the heads of two men coming into the harbour. He then swore he would "shoot all the half-castes or any other caste be he damned if he wouldn't". Complaint was also made of the fact that he had suspended church services, and the writer suggested that John MacLaine, a J.P. on Clarke Island, be asked to investigate.<sup>59</sup> Sir Edward Braddon, Minister for Education, acceded to the latter request.

Stephens went to Hobart, and Montgomery wrote on 7 April that he had perfectly recovered, and was amazed at his behaviour. "I sent him to Dr. Harvey (having primed Harvey beforehand) and I fancy Harvey has frightened him out of all chance of mistakes - and has insisted on a month away from the islands every year". The Bishop was certain that Stephens would not fall again, and stressed that with him went his family, against whom none of the half-castes had ever had cause for complaint. He added that "before Stephens went quite mad after wrecking business, he was fired at and the bullet went pretty close. I don't suppose they tried to hit him but it was enough to make a man mad".<sup>60</sup> On Montgomery's

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59. Ed. Dept. op cit, 12 February 1896, Anon/Minister of Education.

60. Ed. Dept. op cit, 7 April 1896, Bp/J. Rule.

advice, Stephens saw Braddon, was admonished, and returned to his post.

Maclaine on 11 May reported that the charges against Stephens were correct.<sup>61</sup> Joseph Masters advised that Stephens be retained provisionally, as he possessed rare qualifications for his dual position, and Mrs. Stephens' work amongst the half-castes was excellent. But the position was "singularly difficult and trying", especially with Stephens' "somewhat morbid temperament. It is moreover very doubtful whether he will ever entirely regain the forfeited confidence of the people".<sup>62</sup> This prophecy proved correct; on Stephens' return to Cape Barren in May, Thomas Mansell, Snr., a leading half-caste, informed the Director that unless a new teacher was sent, the children would be kept away from school.<sup>63</sup> Stephens asked the Department to order Constable Napper to enforce attendance, as his refusal to further encourage pauperism by supplying them with stores, had led some of the more troublesome half-castes partially to prevent attendance.<sup>64</sup> The Director discouraged the use of compulsion until Stephens had regained the half-castes' confidence.<sup>65</sup>

This was a forlorn hope. On 7 September, a petition signed by 12 half-castes was sent to the "Chairman of the Board of Education", complaining that Stephens had been threatening people with a pistol, and on 29 August had struck Thomas Mansell Snr. with a club, and threatened

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61. Ed. Dept., op cit, 11 May 1896, J.J.H. Maclaine/Minister of Education.

62. Ed. Dept., op cit, 18 June 1896, J. Masters/J. Rule.

63. Ed. Dept., op cit, 12 May 1896, T.E. Mansell/J. Rule.

64. Ed. Dept., op cit, 30 May 1896, E.W. Stephens/J. Rule.

65. Ed. Dept., op cit, 25 June 1896, J. Rule/E.W. Stephens.

to shoot him.<sup>66</sup> Stephens admitted striking Mansell, but only after the other, being refused free produce, declared in the presence of Stephens' wife that Stephens had two bastards, and offered to fight him. "At no time before or since, not under the greatest provocation, have I threatened to injure in anyway whatever, although, for nearly three years, I have been threatened and liable to bodily injury by this special gang". As for the petition, "one of the prime movers is reputed to be guilty of incest, also one of his sons. Adultery is common and they know that I know it. If you knew the hundredth part of what I know, you would not heed their statements". The crux of the matter was that they hoped a new teacher would be more liberal in giving them free goods.<sup>67</sup>

The Bishop, to whom this letter was referred by Braddon, showed in his reply that his earlier illusions concerning the half-castes had entirely vanished. "All that Mr. Stephens says about the Half Castes is just what I believe to be true. They are not improving except in some families. No one will ever keep their goodwill long. When they have tried of one man and they know he knows too much about them, they will try to get rid of him". Montgomery hoped Stephens would be kept on till his son, Charles, could replace him. In ironic contrast to his 1892 comparison of the half-castes with the Pitcairn Islanders, he concluded by noting "a strange likeness between our half castes and the ... ex-Pitcairners. I trust ours may not fall as low as the latter".<sup>68</sup> Braddon

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66. Ed. Dept. op cit, 7 September 1896, 12 halfcastes/Chairman of the Board of Education.

67. Ed. Dept. op cit, 3 October 1896, E.W. Stephens/J. Rule.

68. Ed. Dept. op cit, n.d., Bp's memo on previous letter.



agreed that Stephens should continue, and not replaced by an untried man, and this was done. Thomas Mansell's further attempt in December to denigrate Stephens' work was rebuffed.<sup>69</sup>

The collapse of Edward Stephens' efforts as teacher and missionary was the collapse also of Montgomery's hopes for the spiritual regeneration of the half-castes. The Bishop at last understood them, and his romantic delusions were shattered. The form of Stephens' fall made obvious the difficulties that beset a Mission worker on this Island; loneliness and the peculiar characteristics of the people were nearly enough to drive Stephens mad without the aid of alcohol. Montgomery had now to rebuild his work entirely, with little visible hope of success.

Charles Edmund Stephens was 22 in 1896. In September of that year, he made enquiries concerning training in the Education Department. Montgomery warmly supported this application: "To get such a fellow, with his Mother, to take charge of the School ... would be the happiest of solutions".<sup>70</sup> Stephens was accepted as a trainee-teacher, and at the Bishop's suggestion sent for a year to the Goulburn Street School. At the beginning of 1898 he replaced his father at Cape Barren Island.

Edward Stephens was glad to leave his post; he later wrote that "to think of successfully living down slander (on Cape Barren Island) is absurd ... If there is the least disposition on the part of the

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69. Ed. Dept. op cit, 14 December 1896, T. Mansell/J. Rule, and L.B. 110/341, p.926, 22 December 1896, J. Rule/T. Mansell Sur.

70. Ed. Dept. 3713/1819, 13 October 1896, Bp/J. Rule.

authorities to believe these statements, then the life of the civil servants becomes an increasing torment from which there is no escape but by resignation or suicide".<sup>71</sup>

In September 1898, the Bishop again visited Cape Barren Island, after an absence of two years due to the Lambeth Conference. "I have for some time felt that the trip wd. not suit me",<sup>72</sup> wrote the Director of Education, but reluctantly, he accompanied Montgomery, partly to reduce the latter's expenses. He found the school well run, considering the low intelligence of the children.<sup>73</sup> The Bishop was glad that Rule had seen Stephens' difficulties at first hand. The policeman was still 15 miles from anybody, so the Bishop again wrote of the urgent need of his moving nearer habitation. The Government's policy of retrenchment had prevented any moves in this direction, in spite of earlier hopes. On the mutton birds, he continued to urge restriction of the number of birders on the one island.<sup>74</sup>

The Bishop had visited all the Lighthouses in the area during May and King Island in August. An advocate of both its beauty and commercial possibilities, he urged through Church News that Members of Parliament should visit King Island to study its needs and potential.

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71. E.W. Stephens, op cit, p.10.

72. Ed. Dept. L.B., 110/1063, p.43, 2 September 1898, J.Rule/Bp.

73. Ed. Dept. 110/737, file 293

74. Church News, October 1898, p.927.

religious angle, Montgomery arranged to visit bi-annually, sending another priest there for a holiday in the alternate years, so that the Island would have a yearly visitation.<sup>75</sup>

A friend in the Launceston building trade, who saw Montgomery's struggles with his canvas Bishopscourt on Cape Barren, offered to provide, anonymously, the materials for one of ~~the~~ timber. Montgomery applied to build a moveable hut on the School Reserve, its use to be restricted to himself or his representative, the School Inspector, and the Constable.<sup>76</sup> He received immediate approval, Braddon giving "cordial recognition of the excellent service proposed to be rendered to the Community".<sup>77</sup> The new residence, built by Edward Stephens, measured 17 feet by 11 feet and was furnished in the style of a miner's hut. In Montgomery's absence it was used by the Constable, thus identifying the Bishop with the restrictive forces of the government in the eyes of the half-castes.

Under Charles Stephens and his wife, the school progressed satisfactorily, though not to the half-castes. In May 1899, John Maynard Jnr. protested against the school being closed one week in every four for Mission Work, alleging that the children thereby received inadequate instruction.<sup>78</sup> Montgomery, asked for details of the current arrangement, opposed any change, remarking that it was "not in the nature of half-castes

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75. Church News, September 1898, p.912.

76. Bp's L.B., pp.103-104, 27 September 1898, Bp/J. Rule.

77. Ed. Dept. L.B. 110/349, p.7, 28 September 1898, J. Rule/Bp.

78. Ed. Dept. Register, 110/64, 9957, 14 May 1899, J. Maynard Jnr./J. Rule.

to be content with any arrangement". The teacher spent six days a week with them, for he had to take services on Sunday. His work was exceedingly arduous, and he would break down without his monthly change. He considered it was a good sign "when Half Castes complain of Schoolmaster or Policeman or Bishop. It arises from some fruitful action on their part which is resented from their ill balanced standard point and want of principle".<sup>79</sup>

The Half Castes were again rebuffed by the Department, but this did not stop their moves against the school. From October 1900 till late in 1902, Stephens reported the continual non-attendance of some children: the Constable's intervention had little effect.<sup>80</sup> On 28 November 1899, Stephens remarked in a letter to Montgomery that

"they actually stand on the bank out of my sight, with a clock, and check my time of going into school with their's, then they lie down in the sun until it is time for the children to go home, when they look at the clock to see if it is exactly to the minute. If a little before, they would bring in a charge of neglect of duty, if a little over, they would get up a petition, saying that the teacher was overtaxing the brains of the scholars!!"<sup>81</sup>

In May 1899, the Bishop wrote to the Commissioner of Police, George Richardson, urging that the proposed house for the Constable be nearer to the Township. To dwell two miles from anyone was too dangerous; "nothing would induce me to run such a risk with my wife and children. I would rather resign my post.

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79. Bp's L.B. pp.203-205, 14 June 1899, Bp/J. Rule.

80. Ed. Dept. Register, 110/64, 9957 various letters 16 October - 1900 - 25 August 1902.

81. B.C. 47, 28 November 1899, C.E. Stephens/Bp.

"The acts of some of the rougher Half Castes in the past towards whites ... Firing bullets over the house - throwing stones on the roof etc. make it certain that were a constable to do his duty in the Islands his wife and family would most likely suffer grievously if left defenceless".<sup>82</sup>

At the Township, protection could be given by the teacher, and other white settlers. In a later letter, he promised Richardson to search for magistrates for the area. In this letter, he also reversed his first view on votes for the Half Castes: "Nothing could be more disastrous and futile. A bottle of grog would buy any vote".<sup>83</sup>

The "bottle of grog" was still in evidence on Cape Barren. In February 1899, Montgomery asked Braddon to prevent visiting steamers selling liquor.<sup>84</sup> The problem was investigated by the Constable, and the Half Castes themselves sent a petition against the grog selling to the Bishop in September. This was signed partly by the sincere and partly by the hypocritical: neither Stephens nor Montgomery was impressed. The Bishop suggested that a Police Superintendent should be sent; this was done, with Inspecting Superintendent Hedberg visiting the Island in October. Charles Stephens told Montgomery that "Mr. Hedberg's visit has been the means of doing good. These people are afraid of him."<sup>85</sup> Some improvement occurred in the grog trade; although 30 gallons arrived for

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82. Bp's L.B., pp.185-187, 31 May 1899, Bp/G. Richardson.

83. Bp's L.B., p.191, 5 June 1899, Bp/G. Richardson.

84. P O/94/99, 11 February 1899, Bp/E. Braddon.

85. B.C. 47, 23 October 1899, C.E. Stephens/Bp.

Christmas 1899, Stephens was glad to report its complete absence at the following year's festivities.<sup>86</sup>

On 12 August 1899, the Bishop again arrived at Cape Barren Island, and, as he remarked to Braddon, ignored the Half-castes "since they ignored me".<sup>87</sup> Montgomery had become very unpopular with most of the

Half-castes by this date, for, as Stephens wrote, "you are as usual blamed for all laws, etc. in connection with the Straits Island".<sup>88</sup>

Edward Stephens told the following story to illustrate the standing of the Bishop and his Missioner amongst their flock. The Half-castes alleged that Montgomery found Stephens sitting

"on the roof of the water closet ... (with) only my night shirt on, and ... singing the National Anthem! He asked me what I was doing and I told him "I was showing my loyalty to the Queen". He said - "Oh come down and come inside and we will make a night of it". And we did so. They said they knew I was a drunkard, but the Bishop was a "bloody" sight worse!"<sup>89</sup>

With such a view of himself abroad, partly due to his vague role as embodying both Church and State, Montgomery had clearly failed. However, the readers of Church News were never told this; Montgomery clearly understood the effect of bad publicity, and, understandably, had little desire to parade the fact that he had failed in the endeavour closest to his heart. Enthusiasm to convert the half-castes was largely restricted to himself, and a public acknowledgment of failure would have ended all

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86. B.C. 47, 2 January 1901; C.E. Stephens/Bp.

87. P 0/94/99, 23 September 1899, Bp/E. Braddon.

88. B.C. 47, 15 October 1900, C.E. Stephens/Bp.

89. E.W. Stephens, op cit, p.9.

support. But he did not deceive readers of the News by pretending progress was better than the reality: his articles were re-orientated to dwell on future needs rather than present achievements, and the earlier enthusiastic eulogies disappeared.

The Bishop in his 1899 visit restricted himself to the white settlers, principally on Flinders Island. Through Church News he urged the protection of the Cape Barren Goose; his earlier comments in 1893 had not prevented their near-extinction. He also advocated more regulation of the Mutton Bird Industry.<sup>90</sup>

Montgomery once more visited Cape Barren Island in March 1900. By that time, Charles Stephens had built a Mission Yacht. The Constable was at the Township, with good results, using Bishopscourt until his residence was completed.

On 2 April 1900, Montgomery wrote to MacLaine that whilst on Chappell Island he had warned the Half-castes that the Government wished to know how their Reserve was used, and that he hoped MacLaine and Hedberg would visit them. He made suggestions for further regulating the mutton-bird industry, and also advocated parcelling out the Reserve to the industrious, the Constable making a yearly report on their work. The Reserve, which could take 1,000 cattle, at that stage had only 50, half of which were wild. He concluded that "I think I have made a mistake in past years in recommending too many points", and restricted himself to urging the

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90. Church News, October 1899, pp.1124-1125.

perpetual prohibition of the taking of eggs. He urged MacLaine to arrange with Hedberg to report on the matter.<sup>91</sup> Montgomery asked for this report, and listed his suggestions, in letters to the Premier, Commissioner of Police and Minister of Lands and Surveys.<sup>92</sup>

Hedberg and MacLaine sent their report to the Minister of Lands and Surveys, who on 15 September forwarded it to Montgomery. The Bishop transmitted it to the Premier two days later, with his comments. He wrote that "these people are not English in character - the more you know of them the less English & the more native they are in habits of work. They can never be judged as we should judge ourselves", and should therefore be "firmly governed as an inferior race ... and reforms must be made gradually".<sup>93</sup> These remarks were quoted, anonymously, by J.E.C. Lord in his 1908<sup>1908</sup> report on the Half-Castes; he quite agreed, noting that "'strictly governed" is the keynote today".<sup>94</sup> The Bishop urged gradual enforcement of the recommendations, but stressed that the Mutton Bird Industry needed immediate action.<sup>95</sup> The Government did take action, repeating the 1891 Regulation restricting the mutton bird season to two months, and prohibiting the taking of birds for fat or oil.

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91. Bp's L.B., pp.297-298, 2 April 1900, Bp/J.J.H. MacLaine.

92. Bp's L.B., pp.299-302.

93. Bp's L.B., p.341, 17 September 1900, Bp/Premier.

94. Parlt. Papers, 1908, Vol LIX, No. 57, p.10.

95. Bp's L.B., pp.342-344, 17 September 1900, Bp/Premier.



In August 1901, Montgomery paid a hurried farewell visit to the islands "which have been very near my heart, together with the people". He was given a farewell, and left behind many good friends, and some good enemies amongst the Half-Castes. The last article he wrote on the Furneaux Mission concluded: "I have spent happy days there and anxious ones. I have learnt grand lessons of patience and many a lesson of life, and leave with regret many dear friends".<sup>96</sup>

From the beginning of 1901, Charles Stephens had been taking "Church Week" every six weeks instead of every four as previously; after the Bishop's visit, the previous system was re-instituted. Montgomery's final comment on the school was that Stephens and his wife were "doing first rate work and are exercising a noble influence".<sup>97</sup> But in 1903, Mrs. Stephens had a complete mental breakdown, partly caused by the monotony of life in the Straits.<sup>98</sup> Her husband carried on the school with the help of his sister, Maud, but was forced to leave the Islands in 1905 to rejoin his wife in Hobart.

Montgomery had led the most concentrated efforts ever to help the Half Castes, but he had largely failed. Some improvements had indeed been made in their material welfare. The mutton bird and sealing industry had been saved, and the extermination of the Cape Barren Goose prevented.

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96. Church News, September 1901, p.142.

97. Ibid

98. Ed. Dept., 3713/2764.

Edward Stephens reported in 1898 that "up to 1890 their habits were of very nomadic character, since then they have become more settled". The church and school "have had an effect in quieting and regulating the ways of many ... an increased air of contentment prevails, which is quite unusual to the Straits".<sup>99</sup> A few Half Castes were learning to do some work on the Reserve, even if only to forestall Government Regulations. But the Bishop's principal hopes of creating a godly community were defeated. In his last Synod address, Montgomery asked that the Islands be remembered,<sup>100</sup> and that he remembered them is shown by his frequent reference to the Islands in later letters.<sup>101</sup> But that Bishop Mercer did not remember the Islands, to Montgomery's distress, is evident in a letter to J.W. Beattie in August 1905: "I am not happy about Stephens. He talks of chucking the Islands because he is not supported now as he used to be".<sup>102</sup> And even before the loss of Montgomery's support, church work in the Islands made little impression. Charles Stephens wrote to the Bishop in October 1899 that

"Attendances at church are still keeping up, but really I cannot help thinking that there is a strong current of hypocrisy prompting them.  
It is as you say a case of slow, steady, plodding.<sup>103</sup>  
We do pray earnestly that even one may prove true".

There were no comments from the Bishop in 1901 comparable to those of 1892

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99. E.W. Stephens, op cit, p.26.  
 100. Church News, November 1901, p.169.  
 101. J.W. Beattie MSS.  
 102. J.W. Beattie MSS., 16 August 1905, Bp/J.W. Beattie.  
 103. B.C. 47, 9 October 1899, C.E. Stephens/Bp.

and 1893, when he enthusiastically praised the religious spirit of the Half Castes. One of the "lessons of life" he learnt was not to be over-romantic about native peoples, but, yet to keep working for their betterment even when such efforts seemed fruitless. The effect of Montgomery's work on a long-term basis can be judged by a 1958 comment from the Council Clerk at Whitemark, Flinders Island: "they have had some sixty years or more of genuine and sincere help from schoolmasters, Government officials, clergyman and missionaries, and the results of their labours are practically nil. Not all of these helpers could have been wrong in their approach?"<sup>104</sup>.

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104. Tasmania State Archives, file on Cape Barren Island, 17 November 1958, C.I.A. Booth's letter.

PART TWO

SOCIAL MATTERS.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### EDUCATION.

Montgomery regarded the paramount duty of the Church to be the religious education of the young.<sup>1</sup> He devoted considerable effort to promote religious teaching, not only in the few Anglican schools, but also in the State system of primary education.

Attitudes to State education varied amongst churchmen. There was a fear of entirely secular education, Victoria being frequently quoted to prove the demoralizing effect of such a system. One such account showed statistically the increase of Victorian crime: the lowest figure was 39.78 per cent, while illegitimacy in Melbourne had increased by 92.16 per cent.<sup>2</sup> In fact, as Church News later admitted, crime had decreased in Victoria.<sup>3</sup> However, Tasmanian education permitted religious teaching in State schools, and the Church generally favoured this system, though sometimes critical of its efficiency.<sup>4</sup>

Montgomery regarded the Tasmanian system as the most practicable one, only once seeking an alternative. At the 1897 Synod he postulated importing the Irish system, whereby the State subsidized and inspected the schools of all religious

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1. 1894 Congress, p. 16.

2. Church News, June 1894, p. 99.

3. Church News, March 1895, p. 242.

4. Church News, October 1892, p. 733.

denominations. If the government approved, he would ask for Anglican schools in every Tasmanian township, and "make the establishment of our own schools everywhere...the work of the next ten years of my life".<sup>5</sup> However, this mood soon passed, and at the 1899 Synod he doubted "whether the very best interests of Ireland have gained under a system which educates children in separate blocks divided by religious differences", thus preventing national unity. The opportunity to teach religion in Tasmanian schools was the "great boon which reconciles us to our national system of education".<sup>6</sup>

The only important manifestation of the Church's distrust of secular education came in 1900, when free State education became a possibility. Church News attacked the "free education faddists", regarding them as either secularists planning to kill Church schools, or opportunist politicians angling for votes from dole-seekers. Church schools could now irrefutably claim state aid to counter the lure of free and basically secular education.<sup>7</sup> Montgomery wrote the editorial in the following Church News, stressing that free education did not concern the Church, and favouring compulsory State education.<sup>8</sup>

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5. 1897 Year Book, p. 7.

6. 1899 Year Book, p. 6.

7. Church News, September 1900, p. 135.

8. Church News, October, 1900, p. 158.

Religion should be taught even if the children could not understand it,<sup>9</sup> Church News wrote, and it approved the current system whereby the teacher gave a lesson on Sacred History in the first half-hour of the day, and a priest could take the children of his persuasion for a half hour at the beginning or end of the school timetable. Montgomery desired the fullest use of these facilities, by all the clergy, particularly as the Bible history given by teachers was often inadequate.<sup>10</sup>

Although Church News continually publicized the need for religious education, little was done in country areas. The Church only gave regular instruction in fifty-five schools, in 1895.<sup>11</sup> The principal reason for this was the inability of country clergy to visit all schools in their areas. To solve this problem Archdeacon Hales suggested to the 1895 Synod that a teaching Sisterhood be formed of ladies licensed by the Bishop. Montgomery spoke in favour of this in his Synod address,<sup>12</sup> and the motion was passed unanimously. The Bishop, with the two Archdeacons, was to form a Board of Management. A meeting was held in Launceston during July, with Montgomery attending, to

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9. Church News, June 1898, p. 869.

10. Church News, June 1894, p. 98

11. 1896 Year Book, p. 50.

12. 1895 Year Book, p. 5.

organize the Society, and Montgomery received the co-operation and support of Braddon, Minister for Education, in introducing the scheme,<sup>13</sup> but nothing further was ever heard of it.

On 24 June 1894, the Education Department ruled that attendance at a religious education class was limited to children registered as belonging to that denomination. This soon caused a protest from Whittington, as the new regulation had cut down attendance at Anglican classes in Hobart by as much as two-thirds.<sup>14</sup> However, in March 1895, a new regulation allowed non-Anglicans to attend Anglican classes if they had the approval of parents or guardians: Montgomery thanked the department for this relaxation of regulations.<sup>15</sup>

Another regulation the Bishop disliked ruled that clergy could not teach in country schools which lacked a classroom for non-Anglicans during religious instruction. At the 1896 Synod, the Rev. John Oberlin-Harris proposed that instruction be given in such schools to all children whose parents did not object. This was opposed by Whittington and Thomas Stephens, Director of Education till 1894, and the motion was withdrawn.<sup>16</sup> However in April 1898, Montgomery circulated a private memorandum

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13. Ed. Dept. L.B., 110/337, p. 517, 6 July 1895, E.Braddon/Bp.

14. Church News, November 1894, p. 181.

15. 1895 Year Book, p. 11.

16. Mercury, 18 April 1896, Supplement p. 1.



informing his clergy that the Director was "most anxious" to help the Church over this problem, though "he does not want to publish these facilities". If no Catholic children attended the school, the Director saw no difficulty in teaching all the children, but if Catholics were present, "he advocates the Teacher taking these into his private room, if he will, and leaving the Schoolroom to the Clergyman". If non-conformist children were present, "the parents' consent is all the Director looks to".<sup>17</sup>

The New Norfolk Rural Deanery, under Oberlin-Harris' inspiration, was still not satisfied, but the Department refused to amend its regulations. Then, in June 1899, Oberlin-Harris suggested that the clergyman could teach all children whose parents wished them to attend; they were to be taken into a room in the teacher's private residence. This arrangement was conditional on the teacher's being "perfectly willing".<sup>18</sup> The Department at once agreed, and issued a circular affirming this principle.<sup>19</sup>

Even with these concessions, the Church still did not use its opportunities fully. In 1899, the number of visits by

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17. D. L. B. 1895-1899, p. 723, 25 April 1898, Bp's memo.

18. Ed. Dept. L.B. 110/351, p. 631, 5 June 1899, J.Rule/J.Oberlin-Harris.

19. Ed. Dept. L.B. 110/351, p.687.

clergy for instruction was only 2,189; with probably 1,500 of these being in Hobart and Launceston, there were only 700 visits amongst almost 300 country schools.<sup>20</sup> The main reason for the latter was that in country parishes, a priest might have up to thirteen widely scattered schools, which he could only visit at restricted times.

One large group of children, those attending the multitudinous private schools, received little religious education. In Launceston, this problem was solved by holding a Special Class for Children every Friday from 4.15 to 5 o'clock. The Church Messenger reported that this had "most happy results".<sup>21</sup>

Some churchmen favoured a positive campaign to increase church schools in Tasmania, and not rely on the State system. There were several small Anglican primary schools scattered around Tasmania in 1890, but the only major Church schools were the Hutchins School in Hobart, and the Launceston Church Grammar School; both gave secondary education. Church News persistently advocated more Anglican schools, longing for the day when State-aided Church Schools

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20. Church News, September 1900, p. 135

21. Church Messenger, August 1895, p. 20

would exist in every parish.<sup>22</sup> The Rev. H. H. Anderson, Headmaster of Hutchins, even wanted Church Industrial and Orphan Schools.<sup>23</sup> However, the only major school established under Montgomery was Collegiate, the first school for girls. Evangelicals regarded church schools as impracticable,<sup>24</sup> and Archdeacon Hales, who supported Montgomery's approval of state education, noted in 1889 that there was no specific Anglican teaching in the two Tasmanian Grammar schools.<sup>25</sup> Church News was forced to admit that attempts to increase their Anglican nature during the 1890s had resulted in financial loss. Children were not sent to these schools from religious motives.<sup>26</sup>

To aid the formation of church day schools "wherever such schools are found to be practicable and desirable", the 1898 Synod approved the establishment of a Diocesan Board of Education nominated by the Bishop.<sup>27</sup> This Board had twenty

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22. Church News, July 1891, p. 481.

23. Church News, August 1896, p. 507

24. Christian Record, October 1900, p. 70.

25. Mercury, 27 March 1889.

26. Church News, January 1896, p. 396.

27. 1898 Year Book, p. 67.

members, with Montgomery ex-officio, but it was ineffective. The 1901 Synod recommended that, to strengthen Church day-schools, the Board form them into a Diocesan Association, joining with similar schools throughout Australia in a Church Federal League.<sup>28</sup> Nothing was done to implement this.

Grammar's position was not good when Montgomery arrived, although it had improved sufficiently for the Head Master, the Rev. A. H. Champion, to announce in December 1889 that he had withdrawn his resignation.<sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> Montgomery personally collected funds to repair its building, and under the Co-Principals, Rev. C. G. Wilkinson and Mr. H. Gillett, who replaced Champion in 1895, the school advanced rapidly. Its 1896 Jubilee Fund raised sufficient to build a new wing.

Hutchins during the 1890s showed none of Grammar's steady progress. On 16 March 1892, forty-six years of Buckland rule ended with the resignation of the Rev. J. V. Buckland. The Rev. H. H. Anderson, the new Headmaster, was very unpopular, and survived mainly through Montgomery's support, both moral and financial. Under Anderson, the number of

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28. 1901 Year Book, p. 29, pp.39-40.

29. Church News, January 1890, p.205.

30. B.C.55, August 1896, Bp's memo.

students at the school declined from 130 in 1892<sup>31</sup> to thirty seven in 1900.<sup>32</sup> It suffered financial crises in 1896 and 1899, but Montgomery's efforts kept the school solvent.

The lack of a church school for girls, was remedied in 1892, when the Sisters of the Church established the Collegiate School in Hobart. The Bishop and other leading clergy gave considerable support to this School; Montgomery played an important role in obtaining the Ladies College for it in 1895.<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Montgomery gave invaluable help in 1898 when the school was in financial difficulties.<sup>34</sup> Besides Collegiate, the Sisters began a school in the Holy Trinity Parish in 1894 for the poorer classes. Both schools were successful.

In 1846, Christ's College was formed to be a College on English lines, of University standing, and teaching Theology. However, <sup>by</sup> 1889 it had declined to the level of an ordinary secondary school, with no theological teaching. Because of a heavy debt, it closed in 1891, to remain moribund till funds

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31. Hutchins' L.B. p. 115, 16 March 1892, J. V. Buckland/Bp.

32. Ibid, p. 165, 13 January 1902, H. H. Anderson's memo.

33. B.C. 55.

34. Church News, April 1904, p. 61.

had accumulated to remove the debt, purchase a free-hold site, and erect suitable buildings. Montgomery approved the temporary closing of the College until it could be re-established on its original lines,<sup>35</sup> and opposed attempts to amalgamate it with Hutchins. He planned that it should have a theological side, but be basically a college attached to the new University of Tasmania which began lectures in 1893.<sup>36</sup> However, Montgomery's successor merely established a purely theological college, divorced from the university, and not till 1929 was Montgomery's plan implemented.

The commencement of the University of Tasmania was one reason for the closing of Christ's College, and its proposed re-opening as a University College in accord with its original purpose. The Church welcomed the new university, though critical of its Council, whose manners and methods it deplored.<sup>37</sup> The leading ecclesiastics supported the University, Montgomery being on the first Council, and accepting its first ad eundem degree. Whittington was elected to the Council in September 1895.

The Churchman most connected with the University was Archdeacon Hales. In 1890, he regarded Tasmania as unready for a University,<sup>38</sup> but on 17 November 1896 he received an ad eundem

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35. Christ College MSS., 19 August 1891, Bp/Council of Christ's College

36. D.L.B. 1895-1899, p.38, 16 November 1895, Bp/T.Stephens.

37. Church News, February 1902, p. 23.

38. Church News, January 1890, p.205.

degree, and in January 1897 became Warden of the Senate.

Hales felt that the University could become more than a mere finishing school for the rich, and pledged himself to make it of more value to all classes.<sup>39</sup> He urged practical classes such as botany, the formation of a School of Mines, and a Launceston College.<sup>40</sup> The University was not popular in Launceston, and he convinced the Senate of the need to have a standing committee there to discuss University affairs.<sup>41</sup> At his suggestion, the 1899 Conferring of Degrees was held at Launceston, Hales giving the address. In 1901, a course of Mining Engineering was established at the University.

In his first Synod address, Montgomery said that Tasmania should train its own clergy, not import them from England.<sup>42</sup> Montgomery insisted on a high standard of both ability and training from all who came to him as candidates for Holy Orders, and he required them to have a Melbourne degree or its equivalent. While Christ's College was functioning, lectures in theology were given by the staff to

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39. Mercury, 6 February 1897.

40. Examiner, 15 March 1897.

41. Examiner, 18 March 1897.

42. 1890 Year Book, p. 72.

any who applied, but with its temporary demise, the 1893 Synod approved a motion that a Board of Theological Studies be established to give lectures to candidates for Orders. It was to consist of the Bishop, Dean, Cathedral Chapter, and the Examining Chaplains. The Committee which suggested this motion also recommended that the Council of Christ's College  
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appoint a Professor of Divinity, but this was not done.

After the opening of the University of Tasmania, Montgomery required ordination candidates to obtain a local degree, but this requirement was withdrawn as impracticable in 1895. Instead he personally supervised candidates, with help from his Chaplains. He suggested the course of studies, and assisted in the purchase of books.<sup>44</sup> In July 1898

Montgomery sought aid for Theological Studentships from  
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S.P.C.K. He wanted grants of £30 each to meet equal amounts from Tasmania.<sup>45</sup> S.P.C.K. approved. The only candidate to receive the benefit of this scheme before 1902 was T. Herbert Pitt. In his 1899 Synod address, the Bishop urged at least some of his clergy to take the examinations of the Australian

43. 1893 Year Book, pp. 61 - 62.

44. Church News, July 1895, p.300

45. Bp's L.B., p. 95, 26 July 1898, Bp/S.P.C.K.



College of Theology,<sup>46</sup> but only one, Canon Finnis, took his advice.

"Sunday Schools doing very badly here - no men", Montgomery noted shortly after arrival.<sup>47</sup> The number of pupils was only 4,950 in 1889,<sup>48</sup> the teaching was often inadequate, and although a Sunday School Association for teachers was extant, it existed only in the South.

Montgomery, a firm believer in the importance of Sunday Schools, planned to revitalize them. He called a meeting of all Southern Sunday School teachers on 10 December 1889, which determined to revive the quarterly meetings of the moribund Sunday School Association. A meeting of all Hobart incumbents in September drew up a scheme for unified Sunday School lessons for Hobart, to be spread over two years. This was laid before a representative meeting of Hobart Sunday School Teachers, and unanimously approved.<sup>49</sup>

At the end of 1891, Montgomery gave viva voce examinations in Hobart and Launceston, testing 3,959 children in both State and Sunday Schools.<sup>50</sup> Results were satisfactory

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46. 1899 Year Book, p. 4.

47. Bp's Diary, 10 December 1889,

48. Church News, May 1902, p. 75

49. Church News, October 1890, p. 338.

50. Church News, May 1892, p. 653.

but his commitments prevented further such examinations. His request that the clergy undertake this work had little response.

A meeting on 19 September 1895 revived the Diocesan Sunday School Association, and asked Northern Tasmania to join. Quarterly meetings were to be held.<sup>51</sup> The September Church News published the first monthly notes of lessons arranged by Oberlin-Harris. These ended in December 1897 after a dispute with the Diocesan Examiner. On 9 February 1896, the first united Sunday School service since Montgomery came to Tasmania held at the Cathedral, the Bishop preaching. A Sunday School Magazine was founded in 1896.

However, this revival was more in theory than in practise: there was a year's gap before the Diocesan Sunday School Association met on 19 August 1897. At this meeting, Whittington complained of the low teaching standards, and called for more teachers.<sup>52</sup> The Association's Committee was spurred into action, and on 23 September arranged a Day of Intercession for Sunday Schools. Teachers were to have a combined service on that day; the last had been on 13 October 1890.

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51. Church News, October 1895, p.354.

52. Church News, September 1897, p. 727.

It arranged for Committees of the Association to be formed in each Archdeaconry to meet at least once a quarter to arrange meetings of their members.<sup>53</sup>

Sunday School work proceeded quietly. The Diocesan Association continued to meet in the South, and held annual united services. Several suggestions were made for improving the system, principally by a more unified series of lessons throughout Tasmania. In response to this, the Diocesan Inspector of Religious Instruction issued a voluntary table of Sunday School lessons for the Diocesan examinations of 1900-1901. A Library for teachers was also to be formed in Hobart.

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Scholars had increased by approximately 4,000,<sup>54</sup> but how effective were the Sunday Schools? Mission Sunday Schools had their failures: the 1896 report of the St John's Mission Church, Launceston, stated that earlier sky-larking "which once called for superintendents of athletic build" had ended, but only through expelling the trouble-makers.<sup>55</sup> And one critical observer of Tasmanian Sunday Schools remarked that

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53. Church News, October 1897, p. 741.

54. Church News, May 1902, p. 75.

55. St. John's Mission Church, 3rd. Annual Report, 1896, p.2.

"the opportunities given in them are largely wasted. There is, as a rule, no adequate supervision of the teaching by the parish priest, while the ignorance of the teachers is abysmal".<sup>56</sup>

To educate those beyond the reach of ordinary Sunday Schools, Montgomery organized "Bush Sunday Schools". These were only mentioned on three occasions in Church News, but were, he felt, "the best thing I was able to do in Tasmania, though not many realised it".<sup>57</sup> "Where clergyman is infirm or useless" or non-existent, "I used to have a Bush Sunday School - set the lessons - encourage correspondence - promise to write back by return of post. (I have a whole pile of letters). I kept a book of all names. (I had some 20 such sets on Islands, Light Houses, & distant settlements)". He printed this scheme and gave it to the clergy: "Some took it up - some ignored it absolutely - in some cases it raised the ideal in some direction".<sup>58</sup>

An important part of religious instruction was the Diocesan Examination. This provided for any children in either state, private, or Sunday Schools who cared to enter. It was

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56. B.C. 22, 3 October 1900, E. T. Howell/Bp.

57. H. H. Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop,...,(London 1905?) p.11.

58. Ibid, p. 13.

organized voluntarily by J. B. W. Woollnough, who arranged the syllabus, and set and marked papers. The system was not flourishing when Montgomery arrived: only thirteen parishes used it in 1889, with 252 candidates, there were only 112 candidates from all Sunday Schools.<sup>59</sup> Montgomery immediately contacted Woollnough in an effort to revitalize the system, which could have been used to co-ordinate all Diocesan education. Woollnough replied that "many of the clergy recognize the syllabus and examination as an aid to them, but most make no use of it".<sup>60</sup> Unless the examination was made an integral and compulsory part of the Diocesan educational system, this would continue. In February 1890, Woollnough announced that, after consultations with Montgomery,<sup>61</sup> he now would give a separate examination for children under ten.

At the 1891 Synod, the Bishop said that Woollnough was doing well;<sup>62</sup> however, this was only a relative judgment. The response to his efforts was not great, in spite of Montgomery's support. Over 1,000 papers were marked in 1895, but this was minute considering the number of Sunday School children alone in Tasmania. In 1898, twenty-eight parishes still did not participate.

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59. Church News, May 1890, p. 257.

60. B.C.55, 28 November 1889, J.B.W.Woollnough/Bp.

61. Church News, February 1890, p.221.

62. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.2.

The 1899 Synod established a Board of Education. This was to consult with Montgomery to make the Diocesan examinations more efficient, and advise Synod on the advancement of Christian education.<sup>63</sup>

In April 1900, Woollnough resigned as Diocesan Inspector after sixteen years' work. The Diocese owed him "a great debt of gratitude", Montgomery wrote.<sup>64</sup> He was replaced by the Rev. John Clougher, with four Examiners to assist him. Montgomery agreed with Woollnough's suggestion that financial support be given to the scheme,<sup>65</sup> but this was unobtainable.

The Bishop was pleased to note a large increase in the number of candidates in 1900. However, twenty-five parishes still ignored the examination, and it was alleged that some of the twenty participating parishes did so only for want of a better system, and because the "powers that be authorized it".<sup>66</sup> This was Clougher's only examination, for he returned to England early in 1901; the Bishop thanked him "in the warmest terms" for the "truly admirable way" he had developed Woollnough's work.<sup>67</sup> He was replaced by Oberlin-Harris.

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63. 1899 Year Book, p. 67.

64. 1900 Year Book, p. 121.

65. Ibid.

66. Church Messenger, October 1901, p. 61.

67. 1901 Year Book, p. 95.

Montgomery in April 1901 suggested the giving of supplementary viva exams.<sup>68</sup> The Board of Education took the hint, and at its meeting on 15 May asked Oberlin-Harris to make arrangements for a viva examination of the Catechism to be held at least in every Sunday School.<sup>69</sup>

In all fields of Anglican education, some progress had been made, in the face of widespread indifference to the cause of religious education from within the Church. Grammar had progressed well, and Hutchins maintained a high scholastic standard and managed to keep afloat in spite of many trials. The Sisters' schools had been a complete success, and were well established by 1901. Religious Education in State Schools was continued, with some modifications of departmental regulations in the Church's favour, while Sunday School work had grown considerably. The Diocesan Examination system, if not widely effective, had been placed on a more satisfactory basis. But Montgomery had not left a perfect system: "the fatal weakness of the Ch. in Tasmania is due to the sentimental undenominational, or if one may use a bold word to one who quite understands, the undogmatic teaching given in State Schools, Sunday Schools & elsewhere", Rev. E. T. Howell wrote in October 1900.<sup>70</sup>

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68. Ibid.

69. Church News, June 1901, p.94.

70. B.C.22, 3 October 1900, E.T.Howell/Bp.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE CHURCH IN THE POLITICAL ARENA.

The Church of England attempted to act as the Established Church, and was therefore a bulwark of the civil authority, strongly pro-British, and Royalist. Montgomery was so enthusiastic a citizen of Greater Britain that he asked, during the First World War, whether there could be "any conceivable doubt" that St. Paul "would have been in the trenches today cheering on the armies of the Allies".<sup>1</sup> He was an associate of the highest in the State, and as an example of this, partly composed the telegrams Tasmania sent to the Commonwealth Government on the birth of Federation,<sup>2</sup> for which he had campaigned.<sup>3</sup> Montgomery wished to see the ideal co-operation existing between church and state in the Furneaux Mission in all church-state relations, and opposed any intervention by the Church in affairs of State which did not concern it.

Complementing this viewpoint, the State at no time during Montgomery's episcopate interfered in Church affairs. Any legal power for the State to meddle ended with the Church Constitution Act of 1899. There had been some doubt whether the Church had full power to amend its constitution, but this

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1. H. H. Montgomery, Life's Journey, (London, 1916), p. 78.

2. B. C. 4.

3. For example, Church News, June 1898, pp. 866-867.



Act gave this power, and declared that Parliament would no longer interpret Church Acts. This was treated as a Government measure, and guided through the Assembly by the Attorney-General. Few parliamentarians understood it, and it was passed with little discussion, even the Attorney-General's speech being principally a memorandum by Montgomery advocating and explaining it.<sup>4</sup>

Relations between church and state were occasionally at variance. Montgomery reflected the liberalism of Deans Farrar and Stanley, and was no blind follower of the Establishment. In 1893, he charged that in the previous two years "deeds have been done in Tasmania which call a blush to the cheek of every right minded man", and attacked Tasmanian society for ignoring the corruption in its midst.<sup>5</sup> Church News warned its readers against placing any trust in the Tasmanian Government, which did not keep its agreements.<sup>6</sup> But this friction was restricted to moral and religious issues, of which the principal ones were Tattersalls, to be discussed later, and the proposal to exclude the name of God from the preamble of the new Commonwealth Constitution. The Church was victorious in the latter dispute.<sup>7</sup> The only conflict not connected with morality concerned the Government's

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4. Church News, July 1899, pp.1070-1071.

5. Church News, May 1893, p. 853.

6. Church News, November 1898, p. 939.

7. Church News, November 1897, p. 754.

repossession of land at New Town long regarded as Church property: a compromise settlement was reached.<sup>8</sup>

The crucial issue which tested Church attitudes was the rise of a radical working-class movement. Montgomery, though liberal in theory, felt that in labour controversies the Church could<sup>only</sup> "sweeten controversy, sanctify thought, and press to the utmost of our power the ethical aspect of everything".<sup>9</sup> To him, social problems affecting the working classes were merely duties in which he was uninterested.<sup>10</sup> Radicals mistook the conservatism of "Bishops and other birds of pray" for reactionary views; the Clipper claimed that the Anglican Church was "perhaps the bitterest opponent of the working classes".<sup>12</sup> This was unfair, for, in the early years of Montgomery's episcopate, Anglican opinion was generally sympathetic to Left-wing movements.

Church News praised Tasmanian help for the London Dock Strike of 1889-1890,<sup>13</sup> and Archdeacon Hales spoke in favour of this at a Launceston meeting, and sent a contribution.<sup>14</sup>

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8. 1896 Year Book, p. 5.

9. 1894 Congress, p.16.

10. Bp's L.B., p.463, 7 June 1901, Bp/Archp. of Canterbury.

11. Clipper, 22 April 1899, p.3.

12. Clipper, 1 December 1894, p.3.

13. Church News, February 1890, p.213.

14. Sydney Morning Herald, 25 September 1890.

At Waratah, the resident priest, S. H. Hughes, was chairman of a big miners' sympathy meeting for the strike. However, with strikes in Australia later in 1890, several Church News editorials attacked the "strike mania", arguing that Australian help to the London Dock Strike had been a mark of sympathy for the distress caused by it, not approval of the strike. The News disliked the Trades Hall Council, and warned of the baneful effects of extreme Unionism.<sup>15</sup> Socialism was godless, lawless, and allied to Communism: it should be stamped out.<sup>16</sup> To prevent future strikes, Archdeacon Hales strongly advocated an Arbitration Court.<sup>17</sup>

After this strike, Church News returned to its more liberal viewpoint, warning against sweating, <sup>and</sup> advocating an Eight-Hours-day.<sup>18</sup> It also favoured co-operatives, though fearing these might develop the selfishness it saw in Unionism.<sup>19</sup> The Church looked towards a gradual evolution to better working conditions: it deprecated class violence aimed to speed this process, calling for stern repression of the Queensland shearers' strike.<sup>20</sup>

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15. Church News, September 1890, pp.328-329

16. Church News, October 1890, p.345.

17. Sydney Morning Herald, 25 September 1890.

18. Church News, April 1891, p.433.

19. Church News, May 1891, p.449.

20. Church News, August 1891, p.505

The depression following on the failure of the Van Diemen's Land Bank did not make the Church any more radical. It continued to preach a moderate approach, and stress the moral aspect: Church News even declared that a commercial code which took advantage of another was against the will of God.<sup>21</sup> In the Broken Hill strike at the end of 1892, the News proclaimed that brotherly Christianity was the only basis for a permanent reconciliation.<sup>22</sup> Clergy should attempt to settle labour disputes not by reason and argument, but by "weapons of the Spirit".<sup>23</sup> Endeavours were made in late 1893 to reach a friendly understanding with the workers by arranging meetings with the clergy: two were held, without success.<sup>24</sup>

The Church of England gave practical help to the unemployed, who were increasing in number by 1894. The Hobart Clergy decided in June 1893 to form employment bureaux in every parish,<sup>25</sup> but this was implemented in only two. Besides several minor efforts in some Hobart parishes, the most sustained campaign was by the All Saints parish, which formed an Unemployed Relief Committee at the beginning of June 1894. This employed only married men at no more than 4/- a day, hoping thereby to encourage

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21. Church News, January 1892, p.584.

22. Church News, December 1892, p. 778.

23. Church News, September 1894, p. 724.

24. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 8 August 1893 and 12 September 1893.

25. Ibid, 20 June 1893.

them to seek other work.<sup>26</sup> All members of the parish were helped irrespective of belief. One quarter of the work-force in the All Saints area applied for relief, and about half of these were given work,<sup>27</sup> mainly road-building. All Saints was so successful in finding jobs that the Nonconformists attacked the Minister of Lands as unfairly favouring it.<sup>28</sup>

After April 1894, the Church ignored labour questions almost entirely. Church News' articles in favour of labour reform ceased, except for a brief campaign in the July to September issues of 1900 advocating better housing for the workers. A venture which might have led to more emphasis on the social gospel of Christianity began in May 1899 when a branch of the Christian Social Union was established in Hobart. The aims of this body were chiefly education; it hoped to learn about social problems, publicize them, and give help in their solution. The Union provoked little interest, its membership being confined to a few enthusiasts, notably Montgomery and Whittington.

After 1894, therefore, the Church met working-class discontent with ineffectual and sporadic sympathy. This was a reaction against an Anglican priest, Archibald

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26. Mercury, 4 June 1894, p.2.

27. Mercury, 12 January 1895, Supplement p.2.

28. Mercury, 10 January 1895, p.4., 15 January 1895 p.4.,  
17 January 1895, p.3.

Turnbull, who sought to provide the unemployed with militant leadership. The Church had been liberal but theoretical in outlook, shunning any direct intervention into politics; Turnbull's practical radicalism drove it further into conservatism. His career provided, as the Daily Telegraph remarked, a movement "unique in the history of the colony".<sup>29</sup>

Archibald Turnbull had led an unusual career before coming to Tasmania. He worked in country parishes in Victoria during the 1870s, but in 1882 went to Melbourne, left the Church and conducted a mission in the Melbourne slums for the United Evangelicals. Later in the same year, his mission being a financial disaster, he went to Adelaide to do evangelistic work. He served with the newly-formed Salvation Army, becoming one of its leaders, but after a disagreement with his colleagues, founded a separate organization named the Christian Crusaders. This was a close imitation of the Salvation Army, but also advocated social and political reforms for the proletariat.<sup>30</sup> In 1886 Turnbull went as locum tenens to Balmain in the Sydney Diocese. In 1889 he went to Goulburn, and was priested; the death of his father-in-law brought him to Tasmania, and in October 1890 he accepted Archdeacon Mason's offer of the Assistant-Curacy of New Town.

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29. Daily Telegraph, 12 July 1894, p.2.

30. For details of Turnbull before 1884, see Adelaide Observer, 8 March 1884, p.34.

Turnbull's work was considered satisfactory, and he was popular with Mason. Only on rare occasions did Turnbull show his true interests, as when he twice spoke to the Southern Clerical Society on methods of reaching the masses.<sup>31</sup>

But Turnbull was in serious trouble with his Bishop. His standing was permanently jeopardized by the fact that his first wife eloped in 1877, leaving him with a young family. The Victorian Church paid the legal expenses of a divorce, and allowed him to re-marry a Tasmanian, Ada Louisa Taylor. But the Adelaide Diocese refused to permit him to officiate because of this stigma, and Montgomery was cautious. Besides this, he broke Montgomery's explicit restrictions by mixing freely with Nonconformists, on one occasion preaching in a Dissenting chapel.<sup>32</sup> He also became unpopular in leading circles through a letter to Church News in August 1891, praising Christian Socialism, aggressive evangelicism, and undenominationalism.<sup>33</sup>

In July 1892, the Bishop appointed Turnbull to Perth, northern Tasmania. While there, Montgomery decided that Turnbull's divorce prevented him having another parish. After a bitter argument with the Bishop over this, Turnbull left Perth at his own request in December 1893. The notice in Church News to this effect was the last time his name was mentioned by that paper.

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31. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 17 February 1891 and 19 May 1892.

32. Mercury, 21 November 1895, p.4.

33. Church News, August 1891, p.509.

Settling in New Town, he demanded a general licence for work amongst the non-churchgoing masses. Montgomery reluctantly gave this on 8 March but would not finance his work.<sup>34</sup> Turnbull immediately started a Church of England People's Mission with himself as Missioner. His services were suspect to orthodox Anglicans, being a shortened version of the Anglican service, with a truculent sermon on social and political subjects, and popular musical items. Turnbull scorned "Churchianity", alleging that the masses did not go to church because the Church did not go to them.<sup>35</sup> His services were always crowded, attracting large numbers of men.

In 1894, there was a serious unemployment problem, but little was being done to relieve this. Expenditure of public funds to relieve unemployment was suspect; J.B.W. Woollnough, Anglican Inspector of Religious Instruction, and Member for Sorell in the House of Assembly, voiced the opinion of many when he told parliament that "the community was responsible for keeping body and soul together in the matter of the scum and the improvident class... but should do no more".<sup>36</sup> And Sir Edward Braddon remarked that to support the unemployed in perpetuity "would simply be pauperising them".<sup>37</sup>

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34. Diocesan Register IV, p.585, 8 March 1894, Bp/A.Turnbull.

35. Tasmanian Democrat, 8 March 1895, p.1.

36. Mercury, 23 May 1894, p.4.

37. Mercury, 24 January 1896, p.4.



Turnbull, wishing to relieve the position of the unemployed, and form an effective labour organization, determined to intervene directly in politics, using flamboyant agitation of the type earlier employed in Adelaide. He found that such labour leaders as existed were not anxious to welcome clerical help; besides their dislike of "sky-pilots", their last leader had been James Hall, a prominent atheist. Turnbull was compelled to work virtually alone for several months. His efforts began on 9 April, when J. S. Mason, a member of his church, called a meeting of 200 unemployed. Turnbull stated his wish to do his utmost to help them find work, and desired a full investigation of their position "so as to be able to speak definitely on their behalf". He urged them to appoint a leader from amongst themselves. The meeting voted J. S. Mason as leader in conjunction with Turnbull and W. Lake, the City Missioner.<sup>38</sup> Beginning on 11 April, an attempt was made to record the names and full particulars of all the unemployed: however, many were reluctant to register, being sceptical of any advantages it might give.<sup>39</sup> The registration was completed on 20 April, but only half registered: in spite of this, Turnbull deduced that a total of 1,164 men,

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38. Mercury, 10 April 1894, p.2.

39. Mercury, 12 April 1894, p.2.

women and children were without support.<sup>40</sup> In his personal investigation of conditions, he had found men breaking stones on the Domain for 1s.6d. to 2s. a day.<sup>41</sup>

Turnbull at once appealed for employers to contact him. He found jobs for many, and was gaining the confidence of the workers. The unemployed asked him to help their cause, and he held several more meetings with them. He asked for delay in agitation, hoping the government would act: a Select Committee of Unemployment had been formed by Parliament on 6 April. However, a meeting on 15 May expressed dissatisfaction with the government's efforts, and decided to raise two petitions urging effective action.<sup>42</sup>

On 20 May Turnbull addressed his congregation on the dangers of increasing oppression of the poor leading to revolt.<sup>43</sup> Two days later, Turnbull and Lake headed a deputation of the unemployed to ask the Premier for government assistance. Turnbull stated that he had been through the city door by door, finding much distress, and presented a petition regarding the state of the unemployed signed by 400 merchants and storekeepers. Braddon's remark that he was doing all he could provoked an

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40. Mercury, 21 April 1894, p.2.

41. Mercury, 13 April 1894, p.2.

42. Mercury, 16 May 1894, p.2.

43. Mercury, 21 May 1894, p.2: .

emotional outburst from Turnbull, who demanded immediate work.

"He was now holding almost fury in check.  
He was constantly with the men; his whole  
existence just now was wrapped up with them,  
and he was striving with them... I repeat  
that unless something is done immediately  
there will be great trouble in Hobart...  
"hope deferred maketh the heart sick" " 44.

The following night, the government introduced a relief works bill into the Assembly.

On the day following this deputation, Turnbull and Lake led another to the Mayor seeking work. One of the unemployed told the Mayor that "there was enough of poverty in the city at present to cause a revolution".<sup>45</sup> The Mayor regretted he could not help, but in fact would be dismissing some Council employees. Turnbull therefore immediately issued an appeal in the Mercury asking for individuals who could give work to contact him. A meeting of the unemployed on 25 May determined to establish its own labour bureau with Turnbull as its organizer, to supplement that of the Benevolent Society.<sup>46</sup>

On 30 May, Walter Gellibrand successfully prevented the Upper House from suspending its Standing Orders to consider the Public Works Bill, which was to provide work for the unemployed. In the course of his remarks, Gellibrand suggested that the British Poor Law system be introduced into Tasmania, though he wondered

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44. Mercury, 23 May 1894, p.3: see also Tasmanian News, 23 May 1894, p.2.  
45. Mercury, 24 May 1894, p.2.  
46. Mercury, 26 May 1894, p.2.

whether there was such extreme urgency in the unemployment problem as the proposal to suspend Standing Orders implied.<sup>47</sup>

This attitude brought strong criticism from the press, and a violent outburst from Turnbull at a labour meeting that night, when he charged that if Gellibrand had the "slightest atom of humanity left in him he would seek to relieve... (the unemployed) and not crush them down to the earth" by introducing the Poor Law System.<sup>48</sup>

At this meeting, he countered criticism that his remarks at the deputation to Braddon were unworthy of a priest by declaring that they were "deliberate words, and well thought out before they were uttered, and by them he would stand (applause)... had he uttered what he said in private he would have been branded by Church and State as a turbulent agitator".<sup>49</sup>

He suggested establishing a Council of Advice to effect a peaceful compromise between Capital and Labour when necessary, and offered to help its secretary. A motion was passed criticizing the Upper House's obstruction of unemployment relief: a copy was to be sent to the President of the Council.

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47. Evening News, 30 May 1894, p.2.

48. Tasmanian News, 31 May 1894, p.2.

49. Mercury, 31 May 1894, p.3.

On 1 June, Turnbull handed Adye Douglas, President of the Legislative Council, the petition against the Council's obstruction. Turnbull later alleged that Douglas subjected him to ten minutes of bitter abuse.<sup>50</sup> When the petition was received, Gellibrand made a speech against "a person" whom he characterized as "loud-mouthed".<sup>51</sup>

A meeting was held on 4 June to express confidence in Turnbull. An address was presented to him, thanking him for his work. Turnbull replied that his work, which was not as successful as he wished, had been unfairly criticized. He was not an agitator, but "if he was driven into a corner he would die fighting for the social elevation of the working man".<sup>52</sup> Though he did not make a planned "painful statement" concerning himself and the church, he did warn the workers against rumours circulated to hinder his work. These rumours, which Turnbull did not specify, were that he had been drunk and using improper language in various public places. This was in fact the Rev. R. M. Turnbull, late of Macquarie Plains, but the rumours stuck to his namesake, who blamed Montgomery for this.<sup>53</sup> The Chairman, John Bradley, Member for South Hobart in the Assembly,

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50. Mercury, 5 June 1894, p.3.

51. Mercury, 2 June 1894, Supplement p.1.

52. Mercury, 5 June, 1894, p.4.

53. Clipper, 1 June 1895, p.2.

was sure that Turnbull would be the last man to stir up strife. The meeting unanimously voted him a "fit and qualified person to advocate the cause of the working classes in this city".<sup>54</sup>

Turnbull continued his fight, making deputations to parliamentarians; he began attacking individual politicians for their opposition. However, to the annoyance of the labour leaders, the Public Works Department registry office, established in May to replace Turnbull's bureau, refuted their prophecies by rapidly acquiring a full list of the unemployed, and was besieged daily by men seeking work.<sup>55</sup> The People's Labour Bureau had not been as successful. Turnbull and his associates were also annoyed by the Government having its usual public works done at a cheaper rate by calling them relief work. They complained of delay in Government aid; in six months the government had only found work for 250.<sup>56</sup> At a meeting on 9 July, Turnbull criticized the men for taking things so easily; the meeting decided to march on Parliament with the resolutions passed.

On 29 June, G. T. Collins, counsel for the Launceston Gas Company, spoke at the Bar of the House of Assembly against.

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54. Tasmanian News, 5 June 1894, p.2.

55. Tasmanian News, 9 July 1894, p.2.

56. Daily Telegraph, 12 July 1894, p.3.

portions of the Launceston Water and Light Bill, which by bringing electricity to Launceston threatened to upset the Gas Company's dividends. The Labour leaders decided to follow the example, and drew up a petition that Turnbull be heard at the Bar of the House on the unemployment problem. The reception was not encouraging. Premier Braddon doubted if Turnbull represented the unemployed, or, "if he did - represented them very badly (Cheers)". Edward Mulcahy agreed, protesting against Turnbull's attacks on members of the House. He warned, however, that to refuse the request would make Turnbull "a sort of martyr, and that was just what he wanted (laughter and cheers)". The House decided to defer discussion on accepting the petition until Friday night.<sup>57</sup>

At 7.30 p.m. that same evening, a meeting of 750 unemployed voted unanimously that Turnbull should be heard by Parliament. At the conclusion of this meeting, the men, carrying torches and accompanied by tow bands, marched to Parliament House. They carried a banner displaying Monopoly with a bludgeon labelled "Law and Order" towering over a labourer who, with feet chained, cracked stones for 3s. a day. A deputation consisting of Turnbull, Messrs. Banks and Martin of the Trades and Labour Council, and a Mr. Chapple accompanied the marchers in a horse-drawn cart, bearing the petition that Turnbull be heard at the Bar of the House. By the time Parliament House was reached, some four thousand people had assembled. Plain-clothed police mingled with the crowd, and

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57. Mercury, 12 July 1894, pp.3-4.

a large force of police was ready to prevent any attack on the parliamentarians. In spite of these precautions, one member of the Upper House became affrighted and left in a cab. When the deputation tried to enter Parliament House, they were refused admission by the police, they therefore asked to see the Premier. Braddon refused to see them, at which the crowd gave "practical illustrations of disapproval".<sup>58</sup> Turnbull then asked to see the Hobart members, and Messrs. Mulcahy, Crisp, Hiddlestone and Bradley met the deputation in an anteroom; Andrew Inglis Clark and Philip Fysh "wisely", in the Examiner's opinion,<sup>59</sup> did not. Donald Urquhart, who had presented Turnbull's petition, and other members attended as observers. Mulcahy immediately attacked the deputation, partly because he had not been asked to present the petition. Turnbull explained the circumstances which made this impossible. He added that as he was attacked as an agitator, he had offered not to lead the deputation; the meeting was not his idea, but that of the men, led on by their extreme distress. He alone was responsible for their orderly conduct. Turnbull concluded the deputation by denying allegations that he was not in touch with the men, and warned that "if I retire from this movement, and perhaps I may, then you will see the consequences".<sup>60</sup>

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58. Tasmanian News, 12 July 1894, p.3.

59. Examiner, 12 July 1894, p.6.

60. Mercury, 12 July 1894, p.4.



All four members promised to support the motion that Turnbull be heard, and the deputation withdrew.

While the deputation was at the House, the marchers held a meeting. When it returned, Turnbull gave an account of developments, which was greeted with cries of "Shame!" Turnbull gave his regular speech of self-justification; his declaration that he "possessed the unbounded confidence of the men" was cheered. He stressed the importance of peaceful actions. Others spoke, and then the meeting dispersed. The Mercury, though deploring the incident, was forced to recognize that "the proceedings were orderly and conducted in perfect good humour".<sup>61</sup>

On Thursday, J. B. W. Woollnough told parliament that Urquhart's motion to hear Turnbull should be barred as against British precedent. B. Stafford Bird, the Speaker, reserved his ruling for the following night.

The public galleries were crowded with workers on Friday night. The Speaker ruled that Urquhart's motion was in order, but advised its rejection. The debate on this ruling was at times remarkably frivolous from the opponents of Turnbull: for example, when it was asked when Turnbull should speak, the Mercury verbatim report ran:

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61. Ibid: the whole incident is covered by the Evening News, Daily Telegraph, Mercury, Examiner, and Tasmanian News for 12 July 1894, and the Clipper for 14 July 1894.

Speaker: The Hon. Member should "name the day upon which he wishes Mr. Turnbull to be heard. (A laugh).

Mr. Lewis: Saturday would be a good day (Laughter)

Dr. Crowther: or Sunday (Renewed laughter)

Mr. Urquhart said ... he mentioned Friday night, because he had it in his mind that it was members' night.

The Premier : Say Good Friday night (Laughter)".<sup>62</sup>

Elliott Lewis pontificated that if the unemployed wished to have a man to address the Assembly, they should elect a representative, who, "if returned, would be listened to just as every other member was listened to (Hear, hear)".<sup>63</sup>

Woolnough again raised constitutional objections to the Petition. The strongest support for Turnbull came from Urquhart and W. J. McWilliams, proprietor of the Tasmanian News. The petition was defeated by nineteen votes to nine. Immediately afterwards, Turnbull addressed his supporters outside Parliament House, promising to continue as their leader.

The reaction of the press was generally violently antagonistic to Turnbull; however, the labour papers praised him as "a bit of a devil raiser",<sup>64</sup> and henceforth were loud in his support. But the Hobart Clipper warned the people not to

62. Mercury, 14 July 1894, Supplement p.1.

63. Ibid.

64. Clipper, 14 July 1894, p.5.

organise "that they may exhalt Mr. Turnbull into a leader of men. We do not want an outbreak of Turnbullism".<sup>65</sup>

Immediately after his defeat by Parliament, Turnbull wrote to the Trades and Labour Council asking for support; this was agreed to on Saturday night. Turnbull met with members of the Council, and the Executive Council was formed for a new organization, the Labor and Liberal Political League.

Turnbull refused to call a meeting that members of Parliament could attend, as three such meetings had already been held, with no result.<sup>66</sup>

Turnbull received sympathy from all over Tasmania.<sup>67</sup> At an Executive Meeting on 1 August, he reluctantly accepted the position of President of the Labor and Liberal Political League. He continued his agitation, calling for freer education and better housing,<sup>68</sup> the end of sweated labour, complete suffrage for both sexes,<sup>69</sup> adequate payment for parliamentarians,<sup>70</sup> and either abolition or liberalization of the Upper House.<sup>71</sup>

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65. Clipper, 21 July 1894, p.2.

66. Mercury, 16 July 1894, p.2.

67. Tasmanian News, 19 July 1894, p.3.

68. Tasmanian News, 23 July 1894, p.2.

69. Clipper, 4 August 1894, p.5.

70. Clipper, 8 September 1894, p.2.

71. Clipper, 1 September 1894, p.2.

Messrs. Bradley and Hiddlestone interviewed Alfred Pillinger, Minister of Lands, on Tuesday 25 September on behalf of the workers; the Ministers' answer was not considered satisfactory, and Turnbull accordingly led another deputation of unemployed to him on Thursday. Pillinger refused to see the deputation, as it included agitators. As a result of this, Turnbull addressed a meeting of 200, saying many "hard things" about Pillinger. The deputation returned on Friday, with the same result, Pillinger being prepared to meet bona fide working men, but not Turnbull; as the deputation refused to enter without him, it left.<sup>72</sup> The workers then caused considerable alarm by marching in a body to the Domain. The evening papers thought they intended to attack Government House; the Evening News reported that one member of the crowd said "Go, have it out with the Governor."<sup>73</sup> The police were rumoured to be massing to protect Government House from seige. In fact, the men merely held an open air meeting to protest at Pillinger's attitude.

On 1 October, 500 men plus a brass band marched to a mass meeting against Pillinger; Turnbull again justified his actions, and first mentioned the possibility of his standing for parliament. He had been asked to do so in Adelaide, but

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72. Clipper, 29 September 1894, p.2.

73. Evening News, 28 September 1894, p.3.

had refused; he was reluctant to stand in Tasmania but would if nobody else could be found.<sup>74</sup> The resolutions made at this meeting were taken by Turnbull and others to Pillinger two days later; they were not received.

After 12 January 1895, Turnbull spoke on the Domain every Sunday afternoon. During January, he also quarrelled with the Trades and Labour Council, which he considered to be doing little towards helping the unemployed.<sup>75</sup>

Turnbull's church work had continued throughout this period; besides his services at the Mariner's Church, he was appointed by his only ally among the Anglicans, Archdeacon Mason, to the chaplaincy of the New Town Invalid Depot. This gave him his only regular source of income, £60 a year. With Mason's death in February 1895, this post was removed, though he continued to work there without pay. Then in March, in spite of a deputation, Montgomery refused to allow Turnbull to keep the marriage fees he collected.<sup>76</sup> Thus Turnbull was now entirely dependent on offerings at his church, plus some help from his wife's family. He was certainly not an agitator for the sake of the money he could obtain. Turnbull's congregation asked him to establish a Free Church of England,<sup>77</sup> but this plan lay dormant.

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74. Clipper, 6 October 1894, p.3.

75. Mercury, 23 January 1895, p.3. and 30 January 1895, p.4.

76. B.C. 12; Clipper, 9 March 1895, p.3.

77. Clipper, 16 March 1895, p.3.

At the April 1895 Synod, the Rev. Samuel Topham petitioned Synod against the Bishop's dismissing him for alleged immorality without fully investigating the accusation. Montgomery, acting on advice, rejected the petition. This had Synod's approval, but not that of the press. Many letters appeared in the papers attacking the Bishop, prominent amongst them being one from Turnbull. He criticized the Bishop's autocratic power, concluding that it might be necessary for him to bring his own case into prominence to prevent any further action against him. "I may be deprived of my licence on the slightest pretext at any moment".<sup>78</sup>

This letter appeared in the Mercury on the morning of 27 April; on the same day, Montgomery wrote to Whittington:

"I think the time may be coming when the Clergy & Cathedral Board ... may object to have the Rev. A. Turnbull representing the Church in the Parish of S. David's. A good deal depends upon the reverend gentleman's conduct in the next few days... If certain utterances become intolerable in the Domain & elsewhere it may become necessary to take some action. At the same time it is difficult for me to take very strong action unaided, since the reason would have to be personal abuse of myself. And a man should put up with a good deal of that. On the other hand Turnbull gives out that I am afraid to act... I fear that gentleness and forbearance may go too far. And if people write to the papers to say I am an oppressor of the Clergy (that is, of my own sons) it would seem that the time may be coming when the sons may take action and help the cause materially".<sup>79</sup>

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78. Mercury, 27 April 1895, p.4.

79. Moase MSS., 27 April 1895, Bp/F.T.Whittington.

Also on 27 April, the Clipper announced that Turnbull was to speak on the Domain on the Topham case. Informers told Whittington that in this speech Turnbull used the words "trickery", "tyranny" and "lying" to describe the Bishop's actions, as well as stating that he "would not believe the Bishop on oath".<sup>80</sup>

As a result of this, Whittington withdrew his licence to preach in the Cathedral parish; when Turnbull conducted a service in spite of this prohibition, the Bishop on 23 May withdrew his licence as a priest of the Church of England in Tasmania. Turnbull reacted by holding a large meeting at the Town Hall on 30 May to give a full history of his relations with Montgomery. His abuse of the Bishop was ignored by the Church.

Although he stated his opposition to denominationalism,<sup>81</sup> Turnbull's church acquired some of the characteristics of the Unitarians and Dr. Charles Strong's Australian Church. The latter body approved his work in July, and allowed him to use their service and hymn-book.<sup>82</sup> In 1896 his congregation became known as "Our Father's Church".

Turnbull's religious strife had interfered with his political work. An attempt to found a Home of Social Help in April 1895, to help the unemployed and homeless, was unsuccessful,

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80. Clipper, 1 June 1895, p. 2.

81. Clipper, 8 June 1895, p.3.

82. Clipper, 20 July 1895, p.7.

As were all other labour plans in that year. The unemployment situation had been eased through government action, the enthusiasm engendered by Turnbull's march on parliament had evaporated, and the Labor and Liberal Political League, of which he became Secretary after a year as President, had soon atrophied.

In August, Turnbull visited Melbourne. He spoke on the Yarra Bank, and was treated in a very friendly spirit by the Trades and Labour Council, in spite of the fact that the Hobart Council had written to Melbourne condemning him.<sup>83</sup> On his return, Turnbull took every opportunity to attack the Church of England, especially when in November Rev. Samuel Topham sued his Bishop for wrongful dismissal. Of Turnbull's attack on the Bishop, Shirley Hales commented to Montgomery: "Indeed, he must be fierce at finding it so ineffectual".<sup>84</sup>

After the stimulus from meeting the Victorian labour leaders, Turnbull again became more prominent in politics. There were rumours that he might contest the North Hobart seat if Alex McGregor resigned.<sup>85</sup> Turnbull's supporters offered to pay his expenses to stand as an alderman, but he refused, as he felt he would be of little use on social questions as an alderman. He

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83. Clipper, 24 August 1895, p.3.

84. D.L.B. 1895-1899, p. 64, 30 November 1895. RSH/Bp.

85. Tasmanian Democrat, 20 September 1895, pp. 1 and 2.



also publicly declared his reluctance to stand for parliament.<sup>86</sup> He began a crusade against sweating, lecturing on "The Curse of Sweating" on the Domain, and at a mass meeting at the Town Hall on 1 October. At this meeting, he moved "that this meeting is of the opinion that the Legislative Council seriously hinders the prosperity of the colony by rejecting all measures of reform, and condemns the supineness of the Government in permitting such a state of class control". He delivered an inflammatory speech, declaring that the Government "had forfeited its right to be called a people's government".<sup>87</sup>

In February and early March 1896, Turnbull exchanged pulpits with the Rev. A. C. Henderson, a Melbourne Unitarian. While in Melbourne, moves began for the coming election, and on his return, Turnbull found his candidature rejected in favour of James Paton. Turnbull had not been successful with the Labor and Liberal Political League, and his individualism and religious interests alienated many. Also, he was not a worker. His League was disbanded, against his wishes, on 13 April, and replaced by the Democratic Club, in which he had no part. After a controversy in the Tasmanian News in May<sup>88</sup> over this procedure, Turnbull was bitterly attacked by the

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86. Tasmanian News, 8 May 1896 - 15 May 1896.

87. Clipper, 5 October 1895, p.3.

88. Tasmanian News, 8 May 1896 - 15 May 1896.

Clipper on 16 May as having a head "swollen to Elephantine Proportions".<sup>89</sup> Turnbull tried to continue his political work, but his popularity had waned; his church had also declined.

In August, the Clipper reported that Turnbull intended "to slaughter orthodoxy in the more congenial atmosphere of Melbourne".<sup>90</sup> His church became openly Unitarian after he left, under A. J. Taylor and S. O. Lovell. In Melbourne, Turnbull formed a "Labour Church", and entered strongly into political activity, with success. In June 1898, his wife formed the Women's Political and Social Crusade, with herself as first President.

Turnbull revisited Hobart on 8 November 1898, and undertook a series of lectures in the labour cause. The Melbourne Trades Hall at its meeting on 4 November unanimously commended Turnbull to the Hobart workers, and all Melbourne's leading reform groups did likewise. His earlier faults were all forgiven by the Clipper, which greeted him enthusiastically as "the only parson in Victoria who stands side by side with the agitators for reform, both in lecture hall and on Yarra Bank".<sup>91</sup> Even the Mercury found him "more thoughtful and impressive than

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89. Clipper, 16 May 1896, p.2.

90. Clipper, 15 August 1896, p.7.

91. Clipper, 12 November 1898, p.5.

when he had led the unemployed agitation in Hobart".<sup>92</sup> Besides his lectures on "Christ the Socialist ", Turnbull held street meetings supporting James Paton's parliamentary ambitions. He was anxious to return to Tasmania and possibly stand for Parliament. He returned to Melbourne in December, after a very successful visit. At his instigation, Stephen Barker, a member of his church and an ex-President of the Melbourne Trades Hall, then visited Tasmania to speak on behalf of Paton.

In June 1899, Mrs. Turnbull died. She had supported her husband in all his endeavours, and her death was mainly due to overwork. Alfred Taylor, Hobart Librarian, wrote that "it is seldom indeed that one meets a character in which there was so much that was deserving of our highest admiration and esteem."<sup>93</sup> Turnbull himself was attacked by cancer in 1899, but lingered on in a weak state until 10 March 1901, when he died in almost complete poverty.

Turnbull was buried on 12 March, the service being taken by Dr. Charles Strong. Eulogies were delivered by three prominent clergy, and Councillor Stephen Barker. Besides a large group of friends, the leader of the Labour Party, the

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92. Mercury, 14 November 1898, p.2.

93. Clipper, 24 June 1899, p.2.

President of the Trades Hall Council, and the President of the Socialists' League all attended. The Tocsin, the Melbourne Labour paper, and the Clipper were loud in his praise, the Clipper calling him a misunderstood man who, "beset by poverty and oft-times semi-starvation", whilst in Hobart fought for the down-trodden.<sup>94</sup> The conservative Tasmanian papers ignored his death.

The reason for conflict between Turnbull and the State are obvious. The conflict between Turnbull and his Bishop was one that occurs so often in history: the conflict of two men both trying to do right as they see it. Both sincerely wanted to help the unemployed, but their methods were contradictory: the Bishop wanted reform through exerting moral pressure on the government, but felt that the church must keep out of politics, while Turnbull was convinced that only through political changes of a far-reaching kind could the under-privileged be helped. Bishop Montgomery was one of the most long-suffering bishops imaginable, but he could not allow the Church to be discredited by a man he regarded as both arrogant and insubordinate: "gentleness and forbearance may go too far".<sup>95</sup> Turnbull on his part was determined to go

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94. Clipper, 13 April 1901, p.6.

95. Moase MSS., 27 April 1895, Bp/F.T. Whittington.

his own way in his efforts at political and social reform, and seemed rather to glory in the role of martyr. Add to this the problem of Turnbull's divorce, and his bitterness at being refused work because of it, and conflict was inevitable. Turnbull received recognition from the Victorian labour movement at the end of his life, but in Tasmania, as the Bishop wrote, the "name of Turnbull is of ill-omen".<sup>96</sup> Under the challenge he embodied, the Church had shown its political conservatism, and support of the established order.

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96. B. C. 1, p.57.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Archdeacon Hales believed that "human laws forbidding vice must ... in their nature be powerless, and human penalties be utterly unable to root it out".<sup>1</sup> The law merely expounded the sentiment of the people: "it does not create the sentiment... The Church's duty is to create sentiment, and so to alter the character, and laws of a people".<sup>2</sup> Although not all churchmen agreed that state moral prohibitions were useless, all supported Hales' conclusion that the people should be educated by the Church to a higher standard of morality. The church under Montgomery systematically tackled some social evils in a practical manner for the first time in Tasmania.

The Church of England worried less about minor social evils than the Protestant sects, and its remedies were often more practical. Montgomery tried to form an Australian Home Reading Union in 1892 to counter the pernicious influence of bad books,<sup>3</sup> but his attempt was abortive. The Church advocated Sunday observance, but did not agree with extremists that this should be enforced by the State.<sup>4</sup> Attempts to prevent Sunday night sacred concerts and Sunday trains all failed; ~~etc.~~

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1. F. Hales, Thoughts on the Bible, (Melbourne 1899), p.128

2. Ibid, p. 129.

3. Church News, February 1892, p.597.

4. Church News, July 1894, p.107.

Archdeacon Hales strongly opposed the narrow view of many Anglicans on this matter.

The drink question concerned Anglicans less than other denominations. This was partly because, as the Rev. W. H. Root lamented, "not one of the Church Dignitaries is a Total Abstainer". He wished Montgomery would become one, for this "would give the Temperance Cause a wonderful lift...The Church in the Colonies is not doing her duty towards the drink traffic".<sup>5</sup> The Church was not officially against alcohol, and Church News opposed total prohibition as impossible to execute. It did, however, feel that laws regulating the drink trade were never fully enforced.<sup>6</sup> Partly, this was financial: the 1889 Bill was emasculated because of the following "that great monopoly - the Cascades Brewery Company - possesses in some of the members of Parliament, who did not hesitate to show how zealously they could serve so profitably a master".<sup>7</sup> Church News recognized that drunkenness was a disease which could not be cured by throwing the drunkard into gaol.<sup>8</sup> The Church Messenger was a more staunchly temperance paper, giving this considerable publicity; with profitable inconsistency, however, half of its back page was devoted to a beer advertisement.

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5. B.C. 46, 13 September 1899, W.H.Root/Bp.

6. Church News, July 1890, p.290.

7. Church News, October 1889, p.145

8. Church News, September 1894, p.146.

Montgomery, in his 1891 Synod Address, while warning against the self-righteousness of total abstainers who foolishly believed "that it is a positive sin to drink wine", wished the temperance cause success.<sup>9</sup> A meeting of the Southern Clerical Society on 12 September 1893 established a Juvenile Temperance Society.<sup>10</sup> Nothing on a Diocesan basis was done, however, though such societies were formed in a few parishes. Finally, a Diocesan Society was established by the 1901 Synod.

The church encouraged efforts to increase sexual morality. The Southern clergy in September 1890 discussed children being reared in houses of ill-fame in Hobart, and wondered if legislative steps should be taken against this.<sup>11</sup> None were, in spite of Church News' call for government action, and the abolition of brothels.<sup>12</sup> Montgomery, who regarded sexual laxity as one of the Australia's especial sins,<sup>13</sup> in 1896 sent a circular to all Rural Deaneries with suggestions for combating it. As a result, Ulverstone formed the "Tasmanian Social Purity Society", which it was hoped would spread to the rest of Tasmania. Beresford was President, Rev.J.S.Roper Secretary, and a

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9. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.3.

10. Church News, October 1893, pp.942-943

11. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 9 September 1890.

12. Church News, April 1891, p.433, August 1891, p.497.

13. Church News, December 1898, p.958.



Presbyterian, Rev. A. R. McPhee, Treasurer. The aims of this noble band were five:

- "1. To promote purity among men.
2. Chivalrous respect for womanhood.
3. The preservation of the young from contamination.
4. Rescue work.
5. A higher tone of public opinion in regard to purity.

Our chief idea is to work quietly and without making any fuss, but rather to band pure-minded men together to influence others individually". 14

The Society worked very quietly indeed, its endeavours passing unnoticed by all.

Montgomery's strong belief was that

"One of the most serious dangers of our day is the belittling of the Marriage tie... It seems perfectly clear to me that it is the duty of the ancient English Church to teach in every possible way that it can that marriage is solemnized by God: that it can only be broken according to its command... The day will come, a century hence, when people will thank the English Church for stemming the down grade". 15

To increase the solemnity of the marriage vow, he insisted that the clergy implement the 1867 regulation that couples living within four miles of a church, and the bride not being pregnant, should be married in a church, not a private home. Many of the clergy opposed this, and the matter came to a head when Archdeacon Hales promised in November 1898 to marry a Mr. Mitchell in his home.

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14. Church News, March 1897, p.624.

15. Bp's L.B., pp.443-447, 26 April 1901, Bp/Miss Sale.

Montgomery heard of this and refused permission: he informed Hales that the rule against it was "absolute, without reference to myself first... I feel of course that you are most likely against the law in your own heart, as some other Clergy are - But you will not mind being under authority".<sup>16</sup> Hales submitted in this instance, but it was reported to Whittington in June 1900 that he had repeated the offence.<sup>17</sup> Because of Hales' action Montgomery at a clergy meeting during the 1899 Synod reminded them of the regulation, and said he would agree to such marriages only in exceptional circumstances.<sup>18</sup> Except for occasional lapses, the Bishop's instructions were obeyed. In his entire episcopate, Montgomery gave permission for such a marriage only once, and then because the bride was virtually an invalid.<sup>19</sup> Because of this attitude, the Diocesan Secretary wrote, there was "no doubt that a great many Church people are married by dissenting ministers. The Govt. returns show that plainly enough".<sup>20</sup>

If the clergy had to be educated to obey their own laws on the solemnization of marriage, the laity had to be educated to take marriage more seriously, and especially to avoid divorce.

Church News regularly opposed divorce except as permitted in the

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16. Bp's L.B., p.112, 2 December 1898, Bp/F.Hales.

17. B.C.22, 19 June 1900, E.T.Howell/F.T.Whittington.

18. Bp's L.B., p. 192.

19. Diocesan Register V, p.161.

20. D.L.B. 1895-1899, p.624, 16 December 1897, GHB/J.A.Ross.

Bible: that is, for adultery. It was not against separation for a reasonable cause such as cruelty, but opposed any re-marriage: "the Church will never give consent to any legislation injurious to the sacrament of matrimony".<sup>21</sup> It also disapproved of marriage with a deceased wife's sister,<sup>22</sup> and strongly attacked the New South Wales and Victorian divorce laws as subversive to Christian morality, and the social order. "The logical issue of making the happiness of the married pair the test of the continuance of the union, is absolute "free love".<sup>23</sup> Montgomery refused to give communion to a re-married or divorced person.<sup>24</sup> Dean Dundas, especially vocal against the Victorian laws, proposed a motion at the 1891 General Synod that they were contrary to Divine Law; this was carried by a large majority. Archdeacon Hales made himself unpopular in Church circles by supporting the Victorian government on the ground that divorce prevented greater evils, and the Government should not force religious notions on an unwilling community.<sup>25</sup> He would, he declared, vote for the divorce laws if he were a parliamentarian, although as a churchman he would not avail

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21. Church News, August 1891, p.497.

22. Church News, September 1898, p.907.

23. Church News, October 1901, p.157.

24. B.C.23; Bp's L.B. p. 117, 30 December 1898, Bp/A.W.Schapira.

25. Church News, December 1891, p.564.

himself of them. He would not deny others a freedom he did not himself desire.<sup>26</sup>

In 1891, R. Shirley Hales warned Montgomery that "the pretext of consolidating the Acts might easily be made the opportunity for sweeping changes, and in these democratic days one cannot tell what may be done if fresh legislation were pressed before Parlt."<sup>27</sup> However, the Marriage Act which came into force at the beginning of 1896 introduced no drastic innovations. It made the State, not the Bishop, the source of all marriage licences, and no longer recognized marriages by banns, but left the Church free to conduct its own forms of marriage, insisting only on receiving full information about each marriage. It also permitted marriages in a registry office, but this was not repugnant to Montgomery, who still regarded such a marriage as Holy Matrimony.<sup>28</sup> Some of the clergy were afraid that the withdrawal of the residence clause in the new Act would lead to clandestine marriages,<sup>29</sup> so at Montgomery's behest a motion was passed by the 1896 Synod urging the clergy to make full inquiry and exercise caution in issuing licences.<sup>30</sup> The Act was accepted by all the clergy, except Francis Hales, at

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26. Australian Star, 7 October 1891 and 10 October 1891.

27. D.L.B. 1890-1892, p.539, 31 July 1891, RSH/Bp.

28. 1896 Year Book, p.6.

29. Church News, October 1895, p.354.

30. 1896 Year Book, p.71.

variance with the rest of the Church once more, who retorted that the new Act allowed Tasmania to become "the Gretna Green of the colonies".<sup>31</sup>

The Anglican Church was naturally horrified when Senator Dobson of Tasmania in 1901 suggested a more liberal divorce law to the Commonwealth Parliament. This would permit divorce in cases such as desertion for three years. One of Montgomery's last acts was to forward petition forms from the Primate to all parishes, and both the News and the Messenger loudly attacked the proposal. The latter was especially vocal against the Bill: "weunhesitatingly affirm it seeks to contravene the law of Christ... The Sacred name of wife will not shortly be known, and that of mistress will take its place".<sup>32</sup> This ranting had little effect: although the Church of England in Tasmania sent in 87 petitions against the Bill, there were only 1,547 signatures.<sup>33</sup>

Montgomery strongly approved of social alleviation which did not involve political radicalism. He could not support Archibald Turnbull's aim of political revolution to

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31. Church News, January 1896, p.404.

32. Church Messenger, November 1901, p.85.

33. Christian Record, March 1902, p.134.

provide social justice, but favoured non-political efforts to reform prostitutes and other outcastes. The test of the reality of Church work "lay in the attention paid to the lowest stratum of society, many of whom found themselves on the bottom rung of the social ladder simply as the victims of circumstances and through very little fault of their own".<sup>34</sup> The Anglican effort to reclaim prostitutes was one of the most successful features of Montgomery's episcopate.

Before 1889, some efforts had been made by individuals, including the wife of the first Bishop of Tasmania, to help prostitutes, but no lasting organized efforts had been made. In August 1889, 10 Southern clergy, headed by the Dean, appealed through Church News for a proposed "House of Mercy" to reclaim the fallen. The new Bishop was asked to bring a female superintendent from England to conduct the venture.<sup>35</sup>

Montgomery replied "how gladly I will do all in my power to further the scheme".<sup>36</sup> As £100 was needed for the initial outfitting, and possibly £250 in annual subscriptions, the Bishop devoted his first collection for Tasmania to this cause.<sup>37</sup>

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34. Church News, November 1893, p.962.

35. Church News, August 1889, p.123.

36. Church News, October 1889, p.153.

37. 1897 Year Book, p.4.

He chose a Miss Eccleston as the first Superintendent; she had 17 years experience of such work. Montgomery paid £30 of her passage to Hobart.<sup>38</sup>

On arrival, Montgomery became Warden, and his wife with the wives of the Hobart Clerby, formed the Executive Committee. Although it was hoped to commence by 1 January 1890, it did not open till 26 March, partly because funds were insufficient. Its early history was not encouraging, and the house was empty for its first three months. The Superintendent paid weekly visits to the prison, and the Government's Contagious Diseases Hospital, popularly known as the "Lock", which handled all cases of venereal disease. She gave cards to all needing reclamation, asking them to consult her, but without result. However, by August 1890, five girls had been treated, two or three visits were made each week to the "haunts of vice", and no pains were spared to make the work successful.<sup>39</sup> The clergy most actively engaged in this work were principally of the High Church party.

The August Church News advised its readers to ignore "exaggerated accounts of friction in the government of the Home, and repeated cries of failure".<sup>40</sup> Its next issue reported that

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38. Church News, November 1889, p. 161.

39. Church News, August 1890, pp. 305-306.

40. Church News, August 1890, p. 306.

the meeting of the Southern clergy on 12 August had discussed the House of Mercy.<sup>41</sup> However, it did not give the complete minutes of this meeting, which unanimously decided that Miss Eccleston should terminate her engagement at the end of the year.<sup>42</sup> This development was not made public till January 1891, when it was disclosed that because the work in Tasmania was so different from that in England, "it has been found advantageous both for the work and herself that this step should be taken". Her chief fault was excessive strictness. Mrs. Montgomery was temporary Superintendent till Miss Dumsday, for fifteen years an assistant to Montgomery in London, arrived to take charge.<sup>43</sup>

On 13 September 1890, after much discussion, the government gave the management of the Contagious Diseases Hospital to the House of Mercy. The two sections were to be kept separate, but under the one roof; the Lock was to be worked as a government institution, the State meeting all expenses. A priest of any denomination could visit it, and strong efforts would be made to transfer the girls to homes for penitents.<sup>44</sup> The two institutions took over a portion of the old Cascades Female Factory previously occupied by the Lunatic Asylum.

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41. Church News, September 1890, p.330

42. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 12 August 1890.

43. Church News, January 1891, p.391.

44. C.S.O. H/1179, 13 September 1890, P.O.Fysh/C.L.Dundas, and Church News, October 1890, p.348.



As a counter to Catholic criticism, a Catholic representative was added to the Lock's Board of Management in November. On 25 November, the Hobart Nonconformist Ministers' Association strongly protested to the Premier, Philip Fysh, against this "breach of the principle of the religious equality existing in these colonies".<sup>45</sup> Fysh replied coldly, refusing them a seat on the Board of Management, largely because of "the absence of any manifestations of interest in the unfortunate inmates of the Lock Hospital by any religious communion other than the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches".<sup>46</sup>

After October 1890, Mrs. Montgomery, who had played an active part in the work of reclamation, became secretary to the Board of Management for the House of Mercy and Lock Hospital. She continued to hold this post whilst in Tasmania, relinquishing it to temporary secretaries when absent from the State. At the annual meeting on 22 October 1891, she reported that the move to the Cascades had proved "beneficial in every way". The girls had begun laundry work, which, besides being part of their training for domestic work, helped the finances. At her suggestion, a motion was adopted that a Building Fund be begun;<sup>47</sup> the present

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45. U.S.O./H/1179, 25 November 1890, J.M.McIntyre/P.O.Fysh.

46. Ibid, 29 November 1890, P.O.Fysh/J.M.McIntyre.

47. Church News, November 1891, pp. 547-548.

quarters were too small and could be requisitioned by the government at any time. However, this Fund never materialized, and the House continued at the Cascades. By April 1892, the work was so successful that Montgomery reported that the House was overcrowded.<sup>48</sup>

At the annual meeting in October 1893, the difficulty was reported of finding positions for girls leaving the House: many women were reluctant to accept them as servants. Mrs. Montgomery had begun a scheme whereby she took one girl at a time from the House, and trained her at Bishops court for three to six months; it was hoped others would follow this example.<sup>49</sup> The House was still overcrowded, and by 1895 most women over 25 were refused admittance through lack of space. By then every available corner except the kitchen and one small sitting room was filled with beds.<sup>50</sup>

At the 1894 annual meeting, a statistical analysis was given of all the girls handled: of the thirty-nine in the House of Mercy, only eleven had turned out badly. The Lock had dealt with sixty-eight girls, twenty five of whom had returned to prostitution, four were doubtful, and one had committed suicide. The average age was usually 21, some being as young as 11 or 12;

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48. Church News, May 1892, p.653.

49. Church News, November 1893, p.963.

50. Diocesan Council Letter File, XXI, H. 1895 Report of House of Mercy

they were of all denominations. After 1896, they spent two years in the House instead of one.<sup>51</sup>

The 1895 Synod unanimously passed a motion giving thanks for the rescue work, in response to the Bishop's request; Montgomery regretted that the rescue institutions, "doing some of the most difficult and thankless work that exists", received "too little aid, and (were) often coldly treated".<sup>52</sup> Only a very small number took any practical part in conducting this work, but it continued to be approximately 50 per cent successful, which was better than many English equivalents. In 1897 the Church moved to larger premises at the Cascades, but the Committee still felt the need for specially designed buildings which would permit adequate classification of the inmates. Finances were always troublesome, even though the use of the Cascades premises was rent-free. The House was in debt almost every year; fairs were held at Bishopscourt to reduce this, and in 1898 a deficit of £163 was removed by a private letter appeal all over the Diocese organized by Mrs. Montgomery.<sup>53</sup> The laundry was increasingly a financial success, and by 1899 provided £307.<sup>54</sup> Enlightened self-interest showed the government that the Church was doing

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51. Church News, October 1894, p.163, December 1897, p. 766.

52. 1895 Year Book, p. 5.

53. Church News, April 1899, p. 1025.

54. Church News, April 1900, p.55.

work more cheaply than the State could do, and it gave grants to the House after 1897 on a pound for pound basis.<sup>55</sup> In June 1897, a request was made to the Guesdon Charitable Bequest for a grant of £3,000 to construct a more suitable building, plus £4,000 as the nucleus of an endowment fund.<sup>56</sup> It received £1,500.

At the annual meeting in 1896, it was remarked that a trained deaconess would soon be needed to direct the work.<sup>57</sup> When in England in 1897, Montgomery wrote to S. P. G. on 4 May asking for £70 per annum for a Deaconess. "It would be an incalculable benefit. Such work is in its infancy in the Colonies and we desire to help other Dioceses which have no homes".<sup>58</sup> This application was rejected, and no change was made in the management of the House while Montgomery was in Tasmania.

Mrs. Soltau, wife of the Minister of Launceston's Memorial Baptist Church, conducted a Hope Cottage for unmarried girls in their first pregnancy. This was not supported by the Baptists, and at Synod in 1892 the Bishop announced that the Cottage had been given to the care of the Church of England.<sup>59</sup>

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55. C.S.O./117/00.

56. P.O./113/97, 18 June 1897, Mrs.H.L.Bucknell/P.O.Fysh.

57. Church News, December 1896, p.579.

58. S.P.G.Original Letters Received, Africa Australia & Pacific, 1897, 4 May 1897, Bp/H. W. Tucker.

59. Church News, May 1892, p.653.

The Anglicans did not show great enthusiasm in their new institution: most of the work was left to the Rector of St. John's and his wife. Of the instruction given, Canon Kelly reported that "though the teaching was distinctly on Church principles, no pressure of any kind was brought to force the adoption of our Faith".<sup>60</sup> Most of the girls were very young, many being aged around 14.

As the Northern church did not support this work financially, many were refused admission through lack of space. Some efforts were made to increase self-sufficiency by laundry work. The Bishop encouraged his clergy to help, with little success; at his request, Kelly visited the North West late in 1892 to publicize the work.<sup>61</sup> By 1896, the Salvation Army had begun work in Launceston, attracting many of the girls from Hope Cottage, which by June was £60 in debt. Kelly wrote an angry letter to Shirley Hales in July about the members of the Anglican Church "never caring a brass farthing to hear what is going on... Synod passes resolutions about Diocesan Rescue Work: yet half the clergy even let alone their people have the wildest notion & most heathenish ignorance on whole method & purpose of the work. And Hope Cottage is to be snuffed out because the Salvation Army say Bah! to us".<sup>62</sup>

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60. Church News, August 1893, p.912.

61. Church News, September 1892, p.726, p.729.

62. Diocesan Council Letter File, XX, K. July 1895, R.C.N. Kelly/  
RSH.

The Church Messenger for August, edited by Kelly, protested at the collapse of the Cottage.<sup>63</sup>

The Messenger was glad to report in its next issue that Hope Cottage had not in fact been abandoned to the Salvation Army, but was to transfer to Hobart.<sup>64</sup> It would be under the same roof as the House of Mercy and the Lock Hospital, and be controlled by the same Committee, with the addition of a Northern Representative. Under this new arrangement, savings were made in administration, the work was better organized, and the church had one organization with three departments covering all facets of the decline, fall, and possible reclamation of virtue.

St. John's Launceston set an example to the rest of the Diocese by forming the only Mission House amongst the poor that attempted to cope with all their needs. On Palm Sunday, 1893, the first service of this Mission House was held in the former skittle alley of the old Queen's Head Hotel, Wellington Street. Besides Evangelistic services, the specific aims of the House were to serve as a refuge for unemployed servant girls, rescue fallen girls and send them to Hope Cottage, and also act as an educational establishment.<sup>65</sup> No distinction was made because of religious views. The work was directed by

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63. Church Messenger, August 1896, p.15.

64. Church Messenger, September 1896, pp.34-35.

65. P.O./113/97, 3 July 1897, A.R.A.Beresford/P.O.Fysh.

Tasmania's only Deaconess, Sister Charlotte Shoobridge, with the help of a nurse. Besides the inevitable Sunday School, there were weekly Mothers' Meetings combined with a second-hand sale, a girls' sewing class, which quickly attracted eighty, popular lectures and evening entertainments, a gymnasium and boys' club, and such practical aids as a Penny Bank and Servants' Registry.<sup>66</sup>

The fame of its work spread even to those who were normally scornful of the Church: in the same issue in which it informed its readers that "a gaitered bishop is not a thing of beauty under any circumstances", and that Montgomery was a "caricature of retrenchment",<sup>67</sup> the Clipper referred to the St. John's Mission House as "one of the best charitable institutions in Tasmania... Stray girls and wives driven from home by drunken husbands can always get a comfortable doss here and a good square meal too".<sup>68</sup> For several years, the House provided a soup kitchen during the winter months. However as with all Anglican institutions, its members were unwilling to finance it. Over 14,000 people used its facilities in 1895, but only £34 was subscribed for its support, and of this £10 came from England.<sup>69</sup>

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66. Church News, June 1893, p.877.

67. Clipper, 8 September 1894, p.5.

68. Ibid.

69. Church Messenger, June 1896, p.157.

Governments during the 1890s did not face up to their duty to their less fortunate citizens. Philip Fysh, the Premier, informed the clergy in September 1889, that Tasmania had no "sufficiently thrown off that reliance upon Government to do the work which it is the duty and privilege of citizenship to undertake". He wanted to extend "over the masses those benign influences which attend the voluntary and systematic dedication of even the smallest coin of the realm to a good cause".<sup>70</sup> Braddon agreed, and in 1895 wrote that "I am now endeavouring to evoke in the part of the people a spirit of self reliance and self help that shall reduce the burden upon the state".<sup>71</sup> In accordance with this view, he closed the Department for the Administration of Charitable Grants, and gave the Launceston Benevolent Asylum to the care of the Launceston Benevolent Society.

Besides this partial renunciation of its responsibilities, the manner in which the State aided the helpless was open to criticism. In July 1891, the editorial in Church News declared that the form of State help to homeless paupers was "in some respects a blot upon our Christianity, and an evil crying to our Father in Heaven". It gave details of cruelty to an old man at the New Town Invalid Depot which led to his death,

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70. C.S.O./H/939, 17 September 1889, P.O.Fysh/C. of E. Clergy.

71. P.O./279/95.



blaming the system which subjected old age "to a wearisome and sometimes cruel discipline".<sup>72</sup> This article brought a request from the Chief Secretary for a report on the incident mentioned from George Richardson, Superintendent of the Depot.<sup>73</sup> In response to a letter from Richardson, Rev. J. W. H. Geiss, Editor of Church News, wrote that this article was an attempt "to show that however perfect these institutions may be on their present lines, there will always be cases of hardship until there is classification and special treatment of some of our aged homeless poor".<sup>74</sup> Geiss amplified this in September's editorial, arguing that the better type of aged pauper should be provided with comfortable homes, and not subjected to any discipline. The people, he declared, "are of the mind to entrust the helpless poor to the care of the State, and they expect the State to fulfil the trust faithfully, and to the best of its ability. This is a socialistic movement and of the right Christian socialism".<sup>75</sup> The following issue of Church News disparaged the State's "grudging support" to the destitute aged.<sup>76</sup> The Dean would like to see cheap housing for the poor,<sup>77</sup> and the News approved of old age pensions

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72. Church News, July 1891, p.448.

73. C.S.O./H/1358, 10 July 1891, Chief Secretary/G.Richardson.

74. Ibid, 14 July 1891, J.W.H.Geiss/G.Richardson.

75. Church News, August 1891, pp.504-505.

76. Church News, September 1891, p.513.

77. Church News, August 1892, p.701.

for the deserving.<sup>78</sup> However, by 1900, Church News had decided in favour of the New Town Depot.<sup>79</sup>

As Whittington remarked, the first mission of the Church was to help the poor,<sup>80</sup> and some attempts were made on a parochial basis to supplement the inadequacies of State help, besides merely criticising it. These efforts usually took the form of providing food and clothing to the deserving poor.

Women's suffrage was canvassed at this time largely for the moral and social benefits it entailed, and a few churchmen supported it for this reason. The St. John the Baptist Magazine wrote that the only way to close "drinking dens" and bring a higher moral tone to the political arena was to give women the vote.<sup>81</sup> However, most churchmen disapproved of women voting; even Church News, which approved of some voting rights for women, opposed equal franchise.<sup>82</sup> Montgomery was more liberal: "government by men only has not been so successful as to make us fear the combined wisdom of the two sexes".<sup>83</sup> Attempts to give women full franchise equality in Church elections failed until 1905, but after 1898 they could both vote for and be members of Parish Councils.

78. Ibid.

79. Church News, November 1900, p.172.

80. Church News, February 1897, p.615.

81. St. John the Baptist Magazine, July 1891, p.3.

82. Church News, September 1897, p.722.

83. 1894 Congress, p.13.

Prison management was unenlightened at the end of the last century, and Church News was one of many papers critical of the Tasmanian system. In September 1891, the paper published a leading article on the hanging of Arthur Cooley, a young murderer, writing that "it is widely known that the treatment of prisoners in Tasmania is anything but what it should be in an enlightened Christian nation". The conditions of the Hobart Gaol "are just those calculated to defeat its true end", namely reformation, for there was no separation of first offenders and hardened criminals. It urged classification of prisoners, suspended sentences for first offenders, educational facilities at the gaol, and the appointment of a full-time chaplain.<sup>84</sup>

The same issue of Church News published an account by Canon Finnis of his conversion of Cooley before his death. His conclusion to this article was that the Government should insist "at any cost upon the proper classification of the prisoners, and to make punishment for crime reformatory rather than vindictive, as to a very large extent it now is".<sup>85</sup> He considered that prison had harmed Cooley, not reformed him.<sup>86</sup> The government disagreed and privately remonstrated with Finnis. Finnis stood his ground, pointing to a Tasmanian Royal Commission in 1873 which used "much stronger language in condemnation of the present system than I

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84. Church News, September 1891, pp.520-521.

85. Church News, September 1891, p. 515.

86. Mercury, 25 August 1891.

have thought wise to employ". He reminded the government that G. W. Shoobridge, the Chaplain, had repeatedly laid the urgent question of classification before the authorities "with little or no result".<sup>87</sup> In the following Church News, Finnis repeated his dissatisfaction with "our wretched system of prison discipline".<sup>88</sup>

Some improvements were made on lines the Church suggested, which the latter was glad to recognize. However, the News still felt that a Parliamentary Commission should be held into the system, asking whether "the cry of our rulers (is) to be continually, 'Go to now; we, have compassed all wisdom?'" "The Hobart Gaol was thoroughly unsuitable for any scientific or moral treatment of prisoners", and could not receive any new class of offenders for permanent detention.<sup>89</sup>

The social problem which caused the greatest public controversy in the 1890s was gambling. In 1891, Church News had written that "there is a good healthy public opinion against gambling, and as time goes on it will undoubtedly grow stronger and stronger".<sup>90</sup> But two years later, with considerable public approval, the Government allowed George Adams to hold a lottery to divide the assets of the defunct Van Diemen's Land Bank, thus raising more money than by conventional

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87. C.S.O./H/1403, 7 October 1891, H.R.Finnis/P.O.Fysh.

88. Church News, October 1891, p.533.

89. Church News, September 1894, p.146.

90. Church News, August 1891, p.497.

means. The outcry was immediate, Archdeacon Hales leading the attack in the North. In the South, the Bishop and twenty of his clergy hastily petitioned both Houses of Parliament, basing their arguments on principles "incontravertible from the point of view of any code of morality".<sup>91</sup> A meeting of all Protestant sects presided over by the Bishop, was held at the Deanery on 18 August to decide on common action. One important absentee was the Catholic Church, which was silent on this matter. Montgomery wrote to the Mercury on 21 and 23 August, writing "as a citizen who professes to be a Christian without imputing bad motives to others". He attacked gambling as "an extreme form of selfishness" which was "never dignifying", and brought "ruin to thousands". The question was a moral one, and should be decided on these grounds.<sup>92</sup> It was not, and on grounds of expediency Parliament approved the Bill "with indecent haste", in Archdeacon Hales' opinion.<sup>93</sup>

After the Van Diemen's Land Bank Lottery, the Church hoped it had heard the last of George Adams. But early in 1896, Adams began business in Hobart, having been ejected from both New South Wales and Queensland. He was welcomed by the government, as his lottery would help Tasmania's dwindling

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91. Church News, September 1893, p.920.

92. Ibid.

93. Examiner, 7 September 1893.

finances. Church News gave considerable publicity to the anti-gambling group, regretting that some laymen were lukewarm on this question.<sup>94</sup> Montgomery said that the Government had to safeguard the people's morals, and ridiculed the idea of "respectable" gambling. He charged the Government with losing moral judgment and thinking only of gain.<sup>95</sup> The February 1896 Church News published a letter from Rev. Richard Dixon which so effectively castigated Braddon's reasoning that the Mercury, biased on this subject, had refused to publish it.<sup>96</sup> Dixon was the most vocal anti-Tattersalls propagandist in the South, whilst Francis Hales repeated his earlier efforts in the North.

Synod in April 1896 had a lively debate on the lottery issue. Hales moved that a petition be sent to Parliament against Tattersalls, making Tasmania "the nursery for gambling in Australia".<sup>97</sup> Montgomery in his Address supported Hales' motion, and attacked the "pernicious industry".<sup>98</sup> Sir Edward Braddon, the Premier, and a member of Synod, was absent from this debate. Hales commented that "it was a pity Sir Edward was not present to enlighten the clergy. (Hear, hear) He would have liked to have discussed the matter in Synod with a man of such ability".

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94. Church News, February 1896, p.411.

95. Ibid, pp.421-422.

96. Ibid, pp.422-423.

97. 1896 Year Book, p.62.

98. Ibid, p.12.

Dixon agreed, remarking that his absence "had a very grave aspect".<sup>99</sup> Hales' motion was passed unanimously.

There were two aspects of the debate which were unfortunate for the Church. In the course of his remarks, Hales said he did not disapprove of gambling for small amounts. In fact, Hales had won a ham at a lottery in aid of Trinity the previous year,<sup>100</sup> but he kept this from Synod. Most speakers disassociated themselves from this viewpoint, and Dixon spoke of it as "unguarded, and likely to prove mischievous".<sup>101</sup> It did. Then, at the conclusion of Synod, it was moved that all lotteries and raffles for Church purposes were "contrary to Christianity", and the Bishop was asked to prevent them.<sup>102</sup> This motion was withdrawn when shown to be superfluous; Church raffles had almost entirely disappeared under pressure of regular propaganda from Church News, and Montgomery's explicit disapproval. But they still provided interested parties with a stick to beat the Church.

Tattersalls' apologia, The Romantic Career of George Adams, reports that "the Tasmanian Parliament, generally speaking, viewed the advent of Tattersalls in a much more friendly and reasonable spirit than did those of New South Wales and Queensland".<sup>103</sup>

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99. Mercury, 17 April 1896, p.4.

100. Clipper, 26 October 1895, p.7.

101. Mercury, 17 April 1896, p.4.

102. 1896 Year Book, p.67

103. The Romantic Career of George Adams, (rev.1947), p.10.

This was not without some financial encouragement to those in high places, including one-twentieth of the annual nett proceeds of Tattersalls in perpetuity to Sir Edward Braddon, Synod Representative for Forth and Leven.<sup>104</sup> Hypocritically, the Bill brought into the Assembly in September to legalize Tattersalls was entitled "The Suppression of Public Gaming and Betting Bill". It made no mention of Tattersalls, being theoretically intended to suppress bookmakers' and tobacconists' betting circles. Also hypocritically, Braddon informed Parliament that "it was not the purpose of the Treasurer to make a revenue-earning concern of these sweeps".<sup>105</sup>

The opposition to Tattersalls was largely confined to the clergy, and therefore had little hope of success. Furthermore, clerical propaganda, was handicapped by disunity amongst the churches over procedure. The Catholics nominally opposed Tattersalls, but when asked by Whittington to attend an interdenominational meeting to decide tactics, Bishop Delaney replied that "I am not of opinion that I could advance the principles of morality at all by entering into an active political course".<sup>106</sup> This meeting, on 14 August, proposed

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104. B.A.Denholm, Edward Nicholas Coventry Braddon, 1829-1904..., B.A.Honours thesis, unpublished, 1963), p.55.

105. Mercury, 5 September 1896, Supplement p.1.

106. B.C.13, 13 August 1896, Bp.Patrick Delaney/F.T.Whittington



to organize support amongst parliamentarians, but postponed a planned united meeting till early in September. In the meantime, the Protestants were to hold protest meetings.<sup>107</sup> This united meeting was never held. Whittington was not impressed with the performance of the other denominations; he forwarded Delaney's letter to Montgomery "so that you may see the Roman policy of sitting on the rail. (But) it wd. have been a false move not to have asked him". Also, "it was made quite evident today that the Non Cons. were not ready to join in a public gathering until their tin trumpet had been duly blown".<sup>108</sup> The Catholics were not strongly opposed to Tattersalls: Edward Mulcahy, a prominent Catholic layman, was one of its leading advocates in Parliament, and the Catholic Church was the only one whose clergy did not petition Parliament against the Bill.

Petitions were sent to Parliament from the Church of England, but not many signatures were collected; only about 2,000 were sent to the Legislative Council from all denominations. Braddon alleged that pressure had been exerted to collect even this number.<sup>109</sup> During the debate on the lottery bill in Parliament on 4 September, it was alleged by Braddon and Mulcahy

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107. B.C.13, F.T.Whittington's notes on 14 August 1896 meeting.

108. B.C.13, 14 August 1896, F.T.Whittington/Bp.

109. Mercury, 4 September 1896, p.3.

that the Church of England raised money by lotteries, and that Synod had refused to condemn this.<sup>110</sup> The Diocesan Council met on 7 September, and Montgomery in their name replied denying this. Braddon, as requested by the Bishop, read this letter to Parliament on 10 September, and though he denied that he had suggested that Synod refused to pass a motion against Church lotteries, several members corrected him. The Mercury headed this section of its parliamentary report "The Premier "At Bay"". <sup>111</sup> On this day, a clause inserted by Henry Dobson, who opposed Tattersalls but favoured raffles for charity, to allow church lotteries was defeated. The churches, who had asked lotteries to be suppressed, considered it an insult to be told in reply that their own lotteries were to be legalized. Woollnough, speaking against this clause, said that of fifty-one Anglican clergy contacted, forty-eight disapproved of legal protection for church lotteries. But the rest of the Bill passed, in spite of Woollnough's last minute attempt to have it considered "that day six months", <sup>112</sup> and, Church Messenger complained, Tasmania would now be known as "Her Majesty's Gambling Den", being the only portion of the Empire with a legalized lottery. <sup>113</sup>

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110. Mercury, 6 September 1896, Supplement p.1.

111. Mercury, 11 September, 1896, p.4.

112. Ibid.

113. Church Messenger, September 1896, p.32.

Voting to bring Tattersalls to Tasmania were Synod members Sir Edward Braddon and John Hamilton, and ex-Archdeacon Thomas Reibey.

Braddon did not allow the lottery controversy to close without a private snub to the Church. On the same day that he read the Bishop's letter to Parliament explaining why the Church lotteries motion at Synod had been withdrawn, his secretary asked Diocesan Secretary, for the Premier's information, whether Synod had passed this motion.<sup>114</sup> The Diocesan Council unanimously voted that they had nothing to add to the Bishop's statement, and coldly added their regret that the Premier "should have thought fit to question... the trustworthiness of the statements of the Bishop and Council".<sup>115</sup>

The Church had also been insulted publicly several times during the Parliamentary debates. Tattersalls' supporters were in a cheerful mood, and laughed off clerical opposition as ignorant or bigotted. Braddon made fun of Hales' arguments,<sup>116</sup> and neglected to answer a dignified reply protesting at this "bantering style" and "perversion of my arguments".<sup>117</sup>

G. C. Gilmore took the opportunity to repay a non-existent insult from Hales by referring, over protests, to his logic as "the baby babbling of a senile elongation"<sup>118</sup> in his second childhood"<sup>119</sup> (laughter)

114. D.L.B. 1895-1899, p.361, 10 September 1896, Geo.Steward/R.S.H.

115. Ibid, pp.357-358, 11 September 1896, R.S.H./E.Braddon.

116. Mercury, 3 September 1896, p.4.

117. Mercury, 8 September 1896, p.3.

118. Hales was very tall.

119. Mercury, 4 September 1896, p.3.

Montgomery himself did not escape derision; once when his name was mentioned, the Attorney-General interjected: "he is as illogical as any of them".<sup>120</sup> Dr. E. L. Crowther, a member of Synod, interrupted Henry Dobson when he referred to Montgomery's views:

"Dr. Crowther: Is that our Bishop?  
Mr. Dobson : Yes.  
Dr. Crowther: Oh, crickey!(loud laughter)".<sup>121</sup>

Crowther lamely explained on the following day that he had not meant to be "personally disrespectful" to the Bishop, but was only amused at Dobson linking himself with Montgomery.<sup>122</sup>

The Anglicans did not change their views after Tattersalls became legalized. Church News recognized that the Act would close down the small tote shops rife in Hobart, but regarded this as the only gain.<sup>123</sup> In the North, an anti-gambling league was formed, Hales participating. What particularly annoyed the Church was the level of debate in Parliament on the issue; even the Clipper, which favoured Tattersalls, commented that Parliament could not "raise itself above a yawn on this occasion".<sup>124</sup> In his 1897 Synod Address, Montgomery complained that "it was an added pain that our parliamentary

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120. Ibid.

121. Mercury, 3 September 1896, p.4.

122. Mercury, 4 September 1896, p.3.

123. Church News, October 1896, p.539.

124. Clipper, 5 September 1896, p.5.

leaders too often discussed the subject in a jocular vein". He regretfully conceded that Tattersalls had the support of the populace; the Church would therefore have to work underground, winning its people back "one by one by reasonableness, preparing to wait till conviction comes".<sup>125</sup>

Church News was convinced that public morality had declined since Tattersalls' arrival, a change it had expected.<sup>126</sup> This opinion did not have the support of the State authorities, who regarded the effect of a legalized lottery as wholly beneficial. The comment of Stafford Bird, Treasurer in 1901, that Tattersalls had "done more to check the worst forms of gambling than all the direct legal prohibitions of gaming have been able to effect",<sup>127</sup> was in fact correct. But the Church refused to be reconciled to this reality; Montgomery continued to protest at the way Tasmanians accepted it, and regretted it had become a vested interest. "Indeed, I note that some are even content to ask for donations from it for philanthropic objects, and are not uneasy at their action".<sup>128</sup> By 1899, he was prepared to see more bodies like Tattersalls introduced into Tasmania, both to stop "one special individual" make a

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125. 1897 Year Book, p.6.

126. Church News, November 1898, pp.939-940.

127. FO/27/01, 11 June 01, B.S.Bird/N.E.Lewis.

128. 1899 Year Book, pp.10-11.

fortune by excluding competitors, and because multiplication of betting houses might rouse Tasmania to vote for the banishment of all.<sup>129</sup> Montgomery was more insistent than ever that the Church should not hold raffles, but collect its money by "worthy" means. Church News did not hide its pleasure when the new Commonwealth Government forbade Tattersalls to use the facilities of its Post Office, though it questioned the legality of this action.<sup>130</sup> In his final Synod address, the Bishop named Tattersalls as the greatest blot on his work in Tasmania, though he was hopeful that its end was approaching.<sup>131</sup>

The Church spoke with a clear voice against social evils, and was not afraid to attack those in authority with a verve its descendents have not inherited. It had been highly successful in its rescue work, which it had pioneered in Tasmania, and in its mission house run by St. John's Launceston. Montgomery was a leading figure in rescue work, but did not play a prominent part in other movements, his real interests lying elsewhere. Some Church members worked zealously in the social field, but the vast majority took no part, and were even, as on the Tattersalls issue, opposed to official Church policy.

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129. 1899 Year Book, p.11.

130. Church News, September 1901, p.135.

131. Church News, November 1901, p.169.

PART THREE

BEYOND TASMANIA.

CHAPTER VII.TASMANIA AND AUSTRALIA.

Montgomery, true to his military heritage, wished for a powerful Australian Church with close-knit organization. He found that the Primate of Australia was more the Bishop of Sydney than Primate, while the General Synod of all the Australian Dioceses was in a weak condition, meeting only once every five years, and with little continuity or originating powers, as any of its resolutions could be overthrown by one intransigent Diocese. Montgomery sought to give both the Primacy and General Synod the power to provide active leadership. Once this was done, he hoped for "a great united plan of action for the Church in Australia, a common, practical ideal to be stretched out, and kept before us, and handled with enthusiasm", a policy including "the whole church work between Africa and America".<sup>1</sup> His efforts gave Tasmania more influence in Australian church affairs than at any other time, but his desire to facilitate Australia-wide leadership failed. Although "the whole Bench of Bishops recognized in him a man with something of the apostolic spirit",<sup>2</sup> most of them were too conservative to follow his lead.

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1. 1894 Congress, p.13.

2. Tasmanian Mail, 16 November 1901, p.6.



The Primacy was one of the great problems in the 1890s. William Saumarez Smith was elected in 1890, and Montgomery at the 1891 Synod, praised "our manly and open-hearted Primate, distinguished for his scholarship and mental powers".<sup>3</sup> He remained on excellent personal terms with Smith, and obtained his advice on all important questions of discipline. But Smith lacked the qualities necessary to give a strong leadership to the Church at a time of great change when the enthusiastically expansionist policy espoused by Montgomery was needed. Montgomery soon reacted against the Primate's hesitancy on proposals to advance Church work, and worked to outwit his delaying tactics, especially over the formation of a Bishopric in New Guinea. But he made no public derogatory remarks against the Primate, and Church News was polite to him, even if other Tasmanian church papers were not.

Church Messenger for example, declared the Primate was "ignoring principles" by attending Dissenting services.<sup>4</sup> In reporting his statement in his Address to the 1896 General Synod that episcopal ordination was "merely an accidental arrangement of the Church of England", it commented: "Probably there is not a diocese where such a statement would not be sufficient to "plough" a candidate for Deacon's orders".<sup>5</sup> Church News more politely, felt the Primate's address was very capable.<sup>6</sup>

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3. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.2.

4. Church Messenger, October 1896, p.53.

5. Church Messenger, October 1896, p.49.

6. Church News, November 1896, p.564.

Some of the Bishops were very outspoken against the Primate, although keeping their sentiments private. The Bishop of Bathurst complained to Montgomery that the Primate's going to a Congregational Chapel "has placed us all in a false position as he is unhappily Primate... I think we are bound to take some action & either he must promise not to offend so again or we shall have to appeal to Canterbury".<sup>7</sup> The Bishop of Adelaide wished "the dear Primate was less dictatorial, or if dictatorial, was more strong."<sup>8</sup> Bishop Webber of Brisbane, a friend of Montgomery's, wrote in 1896 that "a man of the Primate's temperament has to be dragged along as so much dead weight - I doubt if he will move hand or foot otherwise".<sup>9</sup> His view of the Primate had fallen still further by 1900, when he commented that "so long as the Bishops elect a bale of wool as primate, so long must the church remain in well deserved obscurity". If the Bishops were not invited to the Commonwealth celebrations in Sydney, it "will be only another indication of the extent to which the Bishops lowered the moral position of the Church" by electing Smith.<sup>10</sup> It was the task of Montgomery, in association with the more progressive Bishops, to improve the Australian organization of the Church of England in spite of the "bale of wool".

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7. B.C.57, 3 September 1896, Bp Bathurst/Bp.

8. B.C.54, 19 November 1900, Bp Adelaide/Bp.

9. B.C.57, 11 August 1896, Bp Brisbane/Bp.

10. B.C.54, 12 November 1900, Bp Brisbane/Bp.

If the Primate left much to be desired, so also did the method of his election. Montgomery was convinced after Smith's election that the electoral procedure had been "tried and found wanting".<sup>11</sup> As the head of the Australian church, and their leader and spokesman, the Bishops wished for a system which gave them their choice. But the Primate was also Bishop of Sydney, which caused complications. The 1872 regulations made provision for the Bishops to elect one of their own body as Primate, therefore allowing for the possibility that the Primacy might not remain at Sydney. However, the 1881 General Synod decided that the Sydney Diocese should chose three names for Primate, one of whom must be accepted by the Bishops. The latter considered that this gave them insufficient voice. There was also a second, less publicized, criticism of the procedure, for Sydney was sure to chose a staunch Evangelical, a bleak prospect to many outside that diocese.

In his first Synod Address, Montgomery prophesied that before long the Primate would be elected from among the <sup>Australian</sup> Bishops by a proper electing body, would not necessarily be the Bishop of Sydney, and that Sydney would regain a free hand in the election of its Bishop "which I believe an increasing number among them desire to obtain".<sup>12</sup> In later remarks, <sup>he</sup> regretted that the Primacy

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11. 1890 Year Book, p. 75.

12. 1890 Year Book, p.76.

was treated as an "accidental adjunct to the Bishopric of Sydney", local issues prevailing in his election, with little weight being given to wider needs. Sydney should have a Suffragan Bishop to allow the Primate to become really familiar with Australia.<sup>13</sup> In his sermon at the beginning of the 1891 General Synod, Montgomery proclaimed: "I dare to say that the office of Primate has yet to be created. No human being could fill it adequately as at present constituted".<sup>14</sup>

General Synod agreed, and passed a Determination that a Committee of fifteen appointed by the Sydney Diocese was to sit with all the Bishops of Australia, and their nominee was to go to the Bench of Bishops for final election. If this latter rejected him, this procedure continued until an acceptable man was found. All the Dioceses of Australia accepted this Determination, except Sydney, which at its 1892 Synod rejected it "as neither necessary nor desirable".<sup>15</sup> This satisfied nobody, including Montgomery, who regarded the settlement of this question as "first in importance" at the 1896 General Synod. He strongly opposed removing the Primacy from Sydney, but this would happen if Sydney did not agree to the 1891 Determination.<sup>16</sup> In May 1896 he asked his fellow Bishops whether they should enact that if

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13. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.2.

14. Church News, November 1891, p.547

15. Church News, September 1892, p.726.

16. 1896 Year Book, p.11.

Sydney at its next Synod did not pass the Primacy Determination, this would become elective amongst the Australian Bishops.

"Nothing but such a step will bring Sydney to its senses".

He suggested that the Bishop of Brisbane undertake this resolution.<sup>17</sup> Bishop Webber was willing and, behind the scenes, support was collected. Rev. J. B. W. Woollnough, in conjunction with Whittington, wrote to all Dioceses collecting their views on General Synod subjects. Archdeacon A. E. David of Brisbane stressed the need to have a resolution to create a wandering Primacy on the business paper, to be used if Sydney still rejected the 1891 Resolution, "so that we may win with either horse". He wanted a draft resolution to give effect to a Primacy determination, if carried, to prevent another five-year delay.<sup>18</sup>

Other Dioceses supported Brisbane and Tasmania. The Bishop of Goulburn was agreeable to using the threat of a moveable Primacy to bring pressure to bear on Sydney.<sup>19</sup> Perth's representatives were uncertain,<sup>20</sup> but the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale approved: "Sydney apparently desires to ignore the fact that responsibilities usually go with privileges".<sup>21</sup>

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17. B.C.54, May 1896, Bp's memo.

18. B.C.57, 10 June 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

19. B.C.57, 27 June 1896, Bp.Goulburn/Bp.

20. Whittington MSS., 7 July 1896, J.B.W.Woollnough/F.T.Whittington.

21. B.C.57, 29 July 1896, Bp.Grafton/& Armidale/Bp.

In July and August, it was arranged that the Bishop of Brisbane would move a resolution re-affirming the 1891 Determination, and Canon Green of Adelaide undertook the alternative motion that a "locomotive primacy" be created.<sup>22</sup>

Church News supported all Montgomery's views in editorials in August and September 1896. In August, it remarked that if Sydney's rejection of the 1891 proposal had been supported by even a "respectable minority" of dioceses, her position would have been more tenable. As it was, the only two choices were to leave the matter in abeyance, "which may possibly be the line of action (or rather inaction) that Sydney will favour", or to make the Primacy moveable. It disliked both alternatives, but regretfully felt that the latter choice might be necessary to give the Bishops adequate control over the choice of the Primate, and to make his power a reality. At the moment, the Primate was not a symbol of unity, but a symbol of Sydney; Sydney should be made the Canterbury of Australia, with national policies replacing local insularity.<sup>23</sup> The Primate in his /Presidential Address specifically chose this article to refute, arguing that the Bishops already had a sufficient voice in the appointment of the Primate.<sup>24</sup>

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22. B.C.57, 21 July 1896 and 5 August 1896, A.E.David/Bp., 11 August 1896, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

23. Church News, August 1896, p.514.

24. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p.33.

The Bishop of Brisbane moved at General Synod that a Committee with six from Sydney and six from other Dioceses be appointed to consider how the Primacy could continue at Sydney, yet give the Bishops a real voice in his election. Both Webber and Montgomery were on this sub-committee, which unanimously decided to postpone the matter for five years. However, Church News reassured its readers, "immense moral progress was made, and the subject was debated at great length and without heat". It thought that now Sydney would see how strongly the rest of Australia felt, and would either accept the 1891 Determination or resign the Primacy.<sup>25</sup> Montgomery in his next Synod Address said that although one of the "ardent spirits", he was not dissatisfied with the progress made, for they had advanced "several steps"; at the next General Synod, there will be no difficulty in concluding the matter.<sup>26</sup>

In his Synod Addresses in 1899 and 1900, Montgomery advocated making the Primacy elective among the Metropolitans.<sup>27</sup> A Metropolitan, the head of a Province of several Dioceses, existed only for New South Wales at this date. At the 1900 General Synod, the committee on the election of the Primate,

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25. Church News, November 1896, p.558.

26. 1897 Year Book, p. 8.

27. 1899 Year Book, p.21, and 1900 Year Book, p.60.

under the chairmanship of Bishop Webber, suggested that the House of Bishops elect one of the Metropolitans as Primate. General Synod approved this, and Montgomery reported to the next Tasmanian Synod that "we have at last laid to rest the Primacy question, at least for a time ... I<sup>am</sup>/absolutely in favour of the Determination".<sup>28</sup>

The general Australian organization of the Church of England was largely ineffective: as Bishop Webber wrote; "the Sydney people have a policy & know their own mind & never take their eye off their aim for an instant - the Bishops & General Synod have no policy - they aim at nothing - & they hit it !"<sup>29</sup> Dean Dundas complained in 1893 of "the exclusiveness of Australian dioceses as well as colonies, & the great difficulty of inducing anything like co-operation".<sup>30</sup> Montgomery agreed, but in keeping with his belief in organization and efficiency, hoped to give General Synod both power and purpose; he failed.

"One of the most pressing duties laid upon your leaders in the Church is to combine dioceses into powerful unities for rapid and effective action", Montgomery told the 1896 Tasmanian Synod, amid applause.<sup>31</sup> But the power of General

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28. 1901 Year Book, p.24.

29. B.C.54, 12 November 1900, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

30. S.P.G. Records, Original letters received, vol. for Africa and Australia, 1893, 12 February 1893, C.L.Dundas/H.W.Tucker.

31. 1896 Year Book, p.10.



Synod was very circumscribed, as noted. The organization of each General Synod, held at Sydney, left much to be desired: Montgomery complained to Shirley Hales in September 1891 of the time being wasted through bad arrangements.<sup>32</sup> Church News protested in September 1896 that with Sydney arranging the business paper, none of the other Dioceses knew what to expect, with the result that in 1896 there were three motions on one subject. To overcome this, the News advocated the appointment of a corresponding secretary in each diocese, who would be an ex officio member of the Synodal Executive Committee.<sup>33</sup> Whittington, seconded by Woollnough, moved this at the 1896 General Synod, but it was defeated.

Montgomery took little direct action over the powers of General Synod till its 1896 meeting, but in his sermon to the 1891 General Synod he stresses the need for close and powerful central organization.<sup>34</sup> He continued to publicize the need for unity and strength, as did Church News, which felt Australia suffered from diocesanism.<sup>35</sup> The 1895 Tasmanian Synod was strongly in favour of making General Synod more effective.<sup>36</sup>

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32. D.L.B. 1890-1892, p.613, 1 October 1891, RSH/Bp.

33. Church News, September 1896, p.530.

34. Church News, November, 1891, p.547

35. Church News, January 1894, p.8.

36. Church News, May 1895, p.267

At this Synod, Montgomery spoke against the rule that the unanimous approval of all Australian dioceses was necessary before any Determination of General Synod became effective. The present arrangement, with General Synod possessing too wide a scope and too limited a power was ridiculous: "the supposed highest Ecclesiastical Synod has practically no power, and possibly no opportunity for action". He urged three points: that the approval of a large majority of the Dioceses should make a Determination law, that a permanent committee of General Synod be formed, and that a meeting be held before General Synod to arrange for its proper management. <sup>37</sup>

At his next Synod, Montgomery suggested a scheme to give General Synod power and influence by making it supreme in a restricted sphere, and at once endowing it. This was a general Superannuation Fund; he hoped easily to raise a £20,000 fund, which would later be increased to £100,000. Obedience to General Synod would carry with it the right to join this Fund. <sup>38</sup> This optimistic scheme was ignored by all other Dioceses.

In May 1896, Montgomery wrote to his fellow Bishops about making General Synod supreme in its own sphere, a

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37. 1895 Year Book, p.9.

38. 1896 Year Book, p.11.

restricted sphere rather than one too broad. He suggested a Standing Committee to face all contingencies, composed of Bishops, clergy, and laity.<sup>39</sup> Then Bishop Webber proposed that a committee frame a resolution giving General Synod full executive powers. Church News approved, and called for a more effective General Synod. The Primate disagreed: "I think the unity of organization, to which we have obtained, is for all practical purposes, efficient, and sufficient".<sup>40</sup> He rejected Church News' call for a "certain defined originative and final authority" for General Synod; "I do not see any sound reason for affirming the principle of the absolute supremacy of the General Synod". To press for coercive as well as consultative powers "would open out a risk of disintegration".<sup>41</sup> Webber's motion was coldly received, and a successful amendment was moved by Bishop Cooper, Suffragan Bishop of Ballarat, seconded by Montgomery, and accepted by Webber, that a committee report to the next General Synod "whether it is desirable to amend the Constitution of the General Synod in such a manner as to give to the Synod legislative powers".<sup>42</sup> In the same session, the Tasmanian Church Advocate, R. J. Lucas, seconded by Webber, moved that General Synod meet triennially, but this was lost.

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39. B.C.54, May 1896, Bp's memo.

40. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p.33.

41. Ibid, p.32.

42. Ibid, p.50

Church News was not satisfied. An unnamed lay representative to General Synod called for fundamental constitutional reform and triennial meetings.<sup>43</sup> The News continued to call for a more powerful General Synod, and hoped its 1900 meeting would settle the problem.<sup>44</sup> But at this meeting, the Primate argued that the present centralisation was sufficient, and that "the danger of interdiocesan friction and fretfulness would be enhanced" by conferring increased legislative power. The time was not ripe: later, perhaps.<sup>45</sup> All Sydney and most Melbourne representatives spoke against it, and Bishop Webber finally withdrew his motion, but on the distinct understanding that it would be one of the first subjects at the next General Synod.

In a practical endeavour to encourage joint action and understanding between the Australasian Dioceses, Montgomery arranged for a Church Congress to meet in Hobart during January 1894. This, to coincide with the Consecration of the new Cathedral Chancel, would discuss questions both practical and theoretical concerned with the Church in Australasia. The June 1893 Church News burst this news upon the Tasmanian Church with a great excitement, Congresses being rare, and this the first

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43. Church News, November 1896, p.560

44. Church News, August 1900, p.124.

45. Official Report of the 1900 General Synod, p.10.

to be held in Tasmania. The Primate had consented, Melbourne had waived its prior claim, and all official Church bodies in Tasmania approved. It was hoped that both Bishop and Dean Bromby would return for the Congress, and that some Melanesians would come in the Mission Ship Southern Cross.<sup>46</sup> A committee was formed to help the Bishop, and Church News gave details of developments in a tone of breathless enthusiasm. However, although the Bromby's did not come, and the Melanesians were prevented by bad weather, seventeen of the twenty-one Australasian Dioceses were represented.

People with differing ideas were deliberately asked to speak to the Congress.<sup>47</sup> Most of the discussions were on practical subjects, such as aspects of the organisation of the Church in Australia, but also included a scholarly meeting on Biblical criticism, a devotional meeting, a crowded men's meeting, one on missions, and a controversial one on the Church and social questions. The Bishops took the opportunity to hold six business meetings at Bishops court, besides a private devotional meeting there.

Reactions to the Congress were in most cases highly favourable. The Bishop of Ballarat said it was the most remarkable Congress he had ever attended,<sup>48</sup> Church News described it

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46. Church News, June 1893, p.874.

47. 1894 Congress, p.17.

48. Church News, February 1894, p.33.

as the greatest event in Tasmanian church history,<sup>49</sup> while the Primate said it was "interesting".<sup>50</sup> Montgomery regarded it as one of the four landmarks of his episcopate.<sup>51</sup> The Clipper felt it was "decidedly a barren fig tree" so far as sympathy for the workers was concerned;<sup>52</sup> The Mercury, on the other hand, felt the Congress had been decidedly radical in social matters, and warned it against playing to the gallery.<sup>53</sup> It was unenthusiastic about other aspects of the Congress, which brought a sharp retort from Church News against the Mercury's "somewhat feeble attempt at satire".<sup>54</sup> However, most papers approved of the Congress; the Bishop's opening address was especially praised.<sup>55</sup> No other Congress has been held in Tasmania.

Church News felt Church Congresses were so important that it advocated one nearly every three years in Australia or New Zealand.<sup>56</sup> Montgomery also proposed another Congress, suggesting 1900.<sup>57</sup> A standing committee was formed at the Congress to secure some continuity in meetings, but this had

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49. Church News, February 1894, p.17.

50. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p.26.

51. Church News, November 1901, p.169

52. Clipper, 27 January 1894, p.2.

53. Mercury, 27 January 1894, p.2.

54. Church News, February 1894, p.18.

55. See Reports in Church News, March 1894, pp.51-52.

56. Church News, January 1894, p.33.

57. Church News, February 1894, p.33.

little effect. Montgomery suggested holding a Congress at Sydney before the 1896 General Synod, but the Primate refused. In reporting this refusal, Church News suggested a Congress at Ballarat in 1898, after the Lambeth Conference.<sup>58</sup> This was held, and both Montgomery and Whittington attended and spoke. The former indirectly caused a storm by suggesting that the Australian character should be discussed: it was, the Bishop of Ballarat giving an unflattering view of it. But, in general, the Congress was quite successful, Church News felt, and it hoped they would be held every four years.<sup>59</sup>

Montgomery believed that theological training would benefit from national organization, which would overcome the necessary short-comings in this field of small Dioceses. The 1891 General Synod approved the creation of an Australian College of Theology, but Perth and Bathurst rejected this, to Montgomery's annoyance. They need not have joined, he complained, but "what they did do was to prevent the rest of Australia doing anything".<sup>60</sup> The 1896 General Synod rejected the motion of Whittington and the Bishop of Newcastle that attempts be made to form Faculties of Divinity at some or all Australian Universities,<sup>61</sup> but, in 1897, the College of Theology was made a reality.

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58. Church News, August 1895, p.315.

59. Church News, December 1898, p.955.

60. 1895 Year Book, p.9.

61. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p.62.

Tasmania originated an Australian church paper, and the rest of Australia refused to support it. At a meeting of the Southern Clerical Society on 14 June 1892, a committee was chosen to report on the feasibility of a church magazine for all Tasmanian parishes.<sup>62</sup> In August, Church News stressed the need for Australian colour in church papers. The southern clergy wanted a cheap magazine that could be localized in any parish, and have a wide circulation on the mainland.<sup>63</sup> The September meeting of the Clerical Society agreed to establish such a magazine under the Editorship of the Dean, assisted by Finnis and Bucknell.<sup>64</sup> Several Australian dioceses were reported to favour the plan.<sup>65</sup>

The Australian Parish Magazine, first issued in January 1893, was an immediate success: 1,500 copies were distributed in Tasmania, and 2,500 on the mainland.<sup>66</sup> It was designed as "a monthly periodical for home reading". The Tasmanian influence was paramount: Rev. C. W. H. Dicker designed the cover, Rev. J. Oberlin-Harris wrote the Sunday School notes, and both Montgomery and Lady Hamilton, wife of

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62. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 14 June 1892.

63. Church News, August 1892, p.701.

64.v Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 13 September 1892.

65. Church News, September 1892, p. 718.

66. Church News, January 1893, p.783.



the Tasmanian Governor, wrote articles in the first issue,  
 Dundas had high hopes for his paper  
 /but the circulation soon dropped from 4,000 to 3,000.

Although priced cheaply to compete with the English papers,  
 it was still more expensive than these. Church News in  
 January 1894 reported that the magazine would be discussed at  
 the Church Congress, and hoped that this would lead to a scheme  
 placing it on a more comprehensive and permanent footing. It  
 also hoped Australia had sufficient esprit de corps to keep it  
 going.<sup>67</sup> The result of this discussion was that the Headquarters  
 were to be moved to the more convenient centre of Melbourne;  
 Dean Dundas' departure for England also made this change necessary.  
 A General Committee consisting of representatives from ten Dioceses  
 was to be the Proprietor, while a small Melbourne executive committee  
 would be formed. The Rev. Charles J. Godby was made Editor, and  
 expected to issue the first Melbourne edition in April.<sup>68</sup>

However, on 14 March, Whittington, Tasmanian representative  
 on the General Committee, was informed that Melbourne had decided  
 not to publish. The circulation was expected to be considerably  
 reduced on the latest figure of 3,000, and even if the £80 debt  
 owing to the Magazine was paid, there would still be a loss of £19.  
 The Editor found his Melbourne committee knew little of the management

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67. Church News, January 1894, p.10.

68. Church News, April 1894, p.68.

of such a venture, and he did not feel he could compete with the English papers.<sup>69</sup> Whittington protested in Church News against this fiasco,<sup>70</sup> but to no effect. And though Godby had stated he might issue a new venture in a few months,<sup>71</sup> nothing further appeared. When suggestions were made that an Australian Church Quarterly be established, Montgomery opposed it as premature.<sup>72</sup>

Between the individual Diocese and General Synod lay the possibility of voluntary amalgamation in a Province. This was particularly desirable for Tasmania, which ran the danger of isolation from the rest of Australia, and resultant diocesanism. From a practical view point, provincial organization could help with pension schemes or theological training, often too costly to be efficient in small dioceses.

At the 1892 Synod, the Dean proposed that Tasmania, Melbourne, Ballarat and Adelaide be formed into a Province. The Bishop spoke in favour of this in his Synod Address,<sup>73</sup> and the motion was passed unanimously. But the response was not greatly encouraging: although Ballarat "heartily concurred", Adelaide was lukewarm, and the Bishop of Melbourne was distinctly opposed.

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69. Church News, May 1894, p.84.

70. Church News, April 1894, p.68.

71. Ibid.

72. B.C.48, 2 November 1900, F.T. Whittington/Bp.

73. Church News, May 1892, p.655.

Montgomery's views had not changed: he still wished to start a Province by uniting Dioceses in such things as Pension Funds, Church Schools and Theological Colleges.<sup>74</sup> The Primate's opinion was dampening: with so few Anglicans in the colonies, haste in forming provinces was "to be deprecated".<sup>75</sup> Montgomery was not discouraged, and in his last three Synod addresses urged Tasmania to join a Province. He did not expect this to be achieved in the near future,<sup>76</sup> and, in fact, it has never been achieved.

Montgomery wanted to strengthen not only the central organization of the Australian branch of the Church of England, but also that of the whole Anglican Communion. In March 1895, he received a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury, advocating the desirability of making provision for a Council of Bishops to be a council of reference on proposed changes in doctrine and discipline, union or intercommunion with other churches, and organizational arrangements on a large scale.<sup>77</sup> Montgomery transmitted these views in his April Synod Address, without naming their author, adding that "they command my own hearty assent".<sup>78</sup>

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74. Church News, May 1893, p.851.

75. Church News, October 1898, p.924.

76. 1901 Year Book, p.24.

77. B.C.48, 14 March 1895, John Sarum/Bp.

78. 1895 Year Book, p.10.

He stressed that it was no longer feasible to wait possibly ten years for the opinion of an Anglican Conference on questions such as doctrine and ritual.<sup>79</sup>

Church News published a sub-editorial in January 1897, probably written by the Bishop, on the necessity of strengthening Canterbury's leadership by "a definite organization". The writer wanted men "of known status, and of clearly defined position", to control work in such departments as the colonial and missionary fields. To begin this organization, from the Bishops conversant with the colonial and missionary fields should be chosen "at least one Episcopal Secretary".<sup>80</sup> Montgomery, en route for the Lambeth Conference in February, wrote to Whittington:

"The following will gratify you but it is not for publication. I have just heard here from the Bishop of Winchester that I am to haste home - that I am needed to consult about the L. Conference and the Archbishop sends to say that I am to lead off (or nearly so) on the organization of the Church throughout the world". 81

On 5 July, he addressed the Lambeth Conference on "A Central Consultative Body for the Anglican Communion". Such a body was formed at this Conference, and later a secretary was appointed to deal with the affairs

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79. Ibid, p.9.

80. Church News, January 1897, p.595.

81. B.C.45, 19 February 1897, Bp/F.T.Whittington.

of the Church outside England. When Secretary of S.P.G. Montgomery originated and was one of the main organizers of the 1908 Pan-Anglican Congress.<sup>82</sup> Church News suggested the valid theory that his Australian experiences had led him to suggest this Congress.<sup>83</sup>

A practical move in the direction of forming stronger links between the various branches of the Church of England was made by Montgomery at the 1891 General Synod, when he asked the Primate to contact the Committee of the Church House, Westminster, as to the practicability of creating a "Church Telegraphic Code" for the use of the entire Anglican Church.<sup>84</sup> Montgomery reported to the 1896 General Synod that he had received cordial approval of the scheme from England, and had been asked by the Secretary of the Church House to furnish details so that the latter could formulate a Code.<sup>85</sup> Bucknell, in England during 1896, supplied the information required.

At the 1900 General Synod, Montgomery moved that a committee be formed to report "Whether it is possible to set on foot a Scheme for united action upon a large scale,

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82. M.M., Bishop Montgomery, A. Memoir, (London, 1933) pp. 57-60.

83. Church News, July 1908, p. 133.

84. Official Report of the 1891 General Synod, pp. 64-65.

85. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p. XIII, Appendix No. 5.

extending over a term of years, having objects as -

Clergy Pensions,  
Religious Education and Clergy Training,  
Church Expansion,  
or other subjects of great importance.

And also whether it is advisable to obtain the co-operation of Churches such as those of New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa to work on parallel lines, but in touch with each other. And also whether the time has not come to obtain from England the personal assistance of leading Churchmen to assist the scheme - the Bishop of Tasmania to be convener of such Committee". 86

This was carried, as was, unanimously, the Committee's recommendation that a Century Thanksgiving Fund be created, to last over five years. Montgomery was included in the Committee to organize this. He entered into the organizing of the Fund with great vigour, and told the 1901 Synod that he wanted to spread an infectious enthusiasm throughout the Anglican world. "It is an idea - and the value of a great idea cannot be estimated in money".<sup>87</sup> No object had been specified by General Synod for the Fund, and the Committee decided that anything was allowable; the sole duty of the Committee was to bring all the schemes and their organizers into conscious touch with each other.<sup>88</sup>

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86. Official Report of the 1900 General Synod, p.26.

87. 1901 Year Book, p.24.

88. Church News, November 1900, p. 177.

Montgomery, who was asked by the Primate to speak at the inauguration of the Fund in Sydney on 25 April 1901, reported in the same months that the response had been "phenomenal": India and Nova Scotia had taken up the idea, and the West Indies were interested.<sup>89</sup> Other countries were contacted, but the main effort was from Australia and New Zealand; both Ireland and Scotland refused to join. However, Montgomery's departure from Australia at the end of 1901 removed much of the impetus from the movement, and the amounts raised were less than at first anticipated. ~~Even so,~~ Australia collected £150,013.13.3 in five years.<sup>90</sup>

With the coming of the twentieth century, and the Federation of Australia, there was a move to change the name of the Anglican Church, and to bring it into line with the new national sentiment. A motion was proposed by the Dean of Perth at the 1900 General Synod to change the name; it was greeted coldly, the Primate feeling that "the change should not be lightly, hastily, or prematurely made. Important, therefore, I consider it to be to defer, if not altogether to deny, the proposal".<sup>91</sup> Whittington moved an amendment that a Committee consider the Church's title, and, after consulting with other

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89. Church News, April 1901, p.55.

90. Official Report of the 1905 General Synod, pp.185-187.

91. Official Report of the 1900 General Synod, p.15.

branches of the Anglican Communion, report to the next Session of General Synod. However, the motion was withdrawn.<sup>92</sup> Church News decried this decision, as the time had been so appropriate: an opportunity of proclaiming the unity and nationality of the church had been lost.<sup>93</sup>

At the 1901 Tasmanian Synod, Dean Kite moved, in identical language to the Dean of Perth's General Synod motion, that the time had come when it was essential to change the church's name to identify it more closely "with the history, development and national life of the Commonwealth, and to prevent it from seeming to future generations to be exotic in character and sentiment".<sup>94</sup> Montgomery felt the question was still "in the academic stage. It is worth discussing; it will help some of us to broaden views of our certain future... it will beten or fifteen years before any real change can be made".<sup>95</sup> This was in fact a very optimistic prophecy. The evangelicals opposed any change,<sup>96</sup> and were not encouraged by the Dean's proposal of the "Anglo-Catholic Church" as the new

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92. Ibid, p.42.

93. Church News, October 1900, p.151.

94. Christian Record, February 1901, p.132.

95. 1901, Year Book, p.24.

96. Christian Record, September 1900, p.57.



name.<sup>97</sup> Most speakers disliked any alteration, though Shoobridge suggested it be called "the Tasmanian Church". The motion was withdrawn "now that attention has been drawn to the subject".<sup>98</sup>

The Bishop of Brisbane was pessimistic about the character of Australian church life: "Here we are - languid & languishing, because we have no real faith in the effectiveness of our own Church order".<sup>99</sup> Montgomery did his best to counter this: his voice, and that of Tasmania, was heard with respect throughout Australia more than at any other time. That his infectious enthusiasm could not end Anglican languishing was not his fault. In his sermon after his departure was announced, Montgomery declared that Tasmania must interfere and play an important part in the wider fields of the Church in Australia,<sup>100</sup> but none of his successors was able to equal Montgomery's effectiveness in these fields.

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97. Christian Record, February 1901, p.132.

98. Ibid, p.133.

99. B.C.57, 11 August 1896, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

100. Church News, August 1901, p.122.

## CHAPTER VIII

### MISSIONS.

"For years there has burned in me a growing desire to aid the mission cause with all my heart", Montgomery confessed in his enthronement sermon in October 1889.<sup>1</sup> Cape Barren Island gave him practical experience in missionary work, and missions outside Australia gave him the training in missionary organization that led to the offer of the Secretaryship of S.P.G. Interest in missions was slight in Tasmania when he arrived, but by January 1896, "where I could hardly count upon (one) Clergyman thoroughly in earnest in 1890, I can tell now of 20".<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for this change was Montgomery's enthusiastic advocacy of the cause.

All but one of his Synod Addresses mentioned the mission field. He advocated forming a definite parish organization, at both adult and juvenile levels. Montgomery was "only too glad" to inaugurate parochial associations during his annual visitations.<sup>3</sup> These associations were never formed, but interest was sparked by the intensive publicity, and the visits of missionaries and organizing secretaries, three of whom arrived in 1891. The 1891 Synod passed a motion that

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1. Church News, November 1889, p.173.

2. B.C.57, 22 January 1896, Bp./Primate.

3. Church News, October 1890, p.342.

committees be formed in each Archdeaconary to promote interest in missions, and to report annually to the Bishop, who was also an ex-officio member of each committee. These committees never became effective. However, in his Synod Address in 1892, the Bishop could truthfully state that there was "without doubt a visible awakening in this diocese" to the needs of missions.<sup>4</sup>

With this awakening came opposition, both passive and active. Indifference was still rife: eighteen parishes gave nothing to missions in 1892,<sup>5</sup> and the total offering was never substantial. The labour press felt that "until the white slave is free his black brethren were best left alone".<sup>6</sup> Its antagonism to missions was partly racial.<sup>7</sup> Less violent criticism was occasionally published in the Mercury, which itself opposed missions. The Mercury argued that the Tasmanian Church should solve its own problems before attempting to convert the heathen.<sup>8</sup> Even Church News occasionally published letters critical of the Bishop's attitude. Montgomery ignored such criticism, and it vanished in the face of his enthusiasm and his argument that Christianity must be expansionist by its very nature; however, his opponents were silenced, not converted.

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4. Church News, May 1892, p.653.

5. Church News, May 1893, p.851.

6. Clipper, 8 September 1894, p.2.

7. Clipper, 10 November 1894, p.4.

8. Mercury, 13 February 1894, p.2.

F. T. Whittington's arrival in Tasmania led to increased missionary propaganda. In 1892, he had been appointed General Secretary of the Australian Board of Missions, and as such visited Tasmania early in 1893 on a lecturing tour. He was impressed with Tasmanian kindness,<sup>9</sup> and, after a severe attack of malaria in New Guinea, accepted Dean Dundas offer of the Assistant-Incumbancy of the Cathedral. Whittington immediately announced that he was prepared to visit country districts to lecture on missions.<sup>10</sup>

In 1893, Synod approved the Bishop's request that <sup>be</sup> one day in each year devoted to missionary collections. This Synod also passed a motion that a Diocesan Secretary be appointed by the Corresponding Committee of the ABM, to report to Synod the results of Tasmanian missionary endeavours.<sup>11</sup>

The chief vehicle for promoting unity in missionary endeavour was the Australian Missionary Union. Whittington began this whilst General Secretary of ABM; it was not intended to supersede any existing organizations, but to bring them into line with one another by affiliated action. Attempts to organize it in Tasmania had some success; Whittington was Diocesan Secretary. Rev. C. Bice, who visited Tasmania for

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9. Church News, March 1893, p.825.

10. Church News, November 1893, p.959.

11. 1893 Year Book, p.33.

the ABM, wrote on 28 February 1896 that he had found the AMU in a large number of parishes;<sup>12</sup> however, it had little prominence in Tasmania after this date.

Montgomery continued to be an example to his flock,<sup>13</sup> and asked all his clergy to preach four missionary sermons a year, to inform their parishioners of the work.<sup>14</sup> But in spite of all this publicity, the Southern Clerical Society in August 1899 puzzled over ways of improving the attendance at quarterly missionary meetings.<sup>15</sup>

No precise figures were kept of all the money collected by Tasmania for missions, but that transmitted through the Diocesan Office for the years 1891 to 1901 averaged £206.9.11<sup>17</sup> per annum.<sup>16</sup> The highest total, £347.4.6, was transmitted in 1901. These figures were minute when compared with the eighty to ninety thousand nominal Anglicans in Tasmania at this time. Several country parishes did not financially support any mission work.

At the Hobart Church Congress, Montgomery declared that missionary work was declining and suggested a Self-denial Week.<sup>18</sup> In April, he announced that he had consented to organize it.

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12. Church News, April 1896, p.455.

13. For example, Church News, November 1895, p.367.

14. Church News, March 1897, pp.621-622.

15. Church News, September 1899, p.1110.

16. 1892-1902 Year Books.

17. 1902 Year Book p.62.

18. Church News, June 1895, p.285.

Montgomery later remembered this effort as one of the highlights of his work in Australia.<sup>19</sup> He entered into the campaign with great enthusiasm, and sent a full list of suggestions for organizing the campaign to all Dioceses; he hoped to raise not less than £10,000.<sup>20</sup> He held public meetings in Hobart and Launceston to inaugurate the campaign and in many parishes. The Effort culminated in the week 25 November to 1 December. Tasmania collected £432.1.0 and all Australia £4,408.1.3, while New Zealand collected £1,059.0.8.<sup>21</sup> This was considerably less than anticipated, and it was soon found that a reaction set in after the Effort, the New Guinea Mission Funds being overdrawn to the extent of £400 by 1896.<sup>22</sup> Also, most of Tasmania's contribution was merely transferred from the usual channels: only £29.9.3. was transmitted through the Diocesan Office in that year.<sup>23</sup> In the distribution of the proceeds, Montgomery refused any help for the Tasmanian mission to the Chinese of Weldborough.<sup>24</sup>

When Montgomery arrived in Tasmania, he found that interest in missions centred on Melanesia. The St. Barnabas'

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19. Church News, November 1901, p.169.

20. B.C.57, 1894, General Memo. from Bp.

21. Church News, June 1895, p.285.

22. Church News, January 1896, p.399.

23. 1895 Year Book, pp. 77-78.

24. Church News, June 1895, p.285.

Association, under the patronage of the Governor's wife, organized aid for this area. It held an annual service, and sent clothing to Melanesia, as well as supporting scholars at £10 each. Membership reached 134 in 1894, and thereafter declined. A Children's Association was formed in 1890, with little success: although it "evidenced great activity" in its first year, only 73 members were obtained.<sup>25</sup> Numbers were minute in both Associations, organization was primitive, and only at Hobart and St. Pauls, Launceston, were there relatively effective branches.<sup>26</sup>

In October 1890, Montgomery wrote that it was his duty to personally inspect the Melanesian Mission.<sup>27</sup> His opportunity came in 1892, when Bishop John Selwyn, too ill to work in the islands, asked him to undertake his episcopal duties for three months. Montgomery departed in July. His work in Melanesia was praised by the missionaries,<sup>28</sup> and he came back certain that no three months of his life had ever widened his horizon so much.<sup>29</sup> It was the greatest event of his life.<sup>30</sup> He visited all the Melanesian islands, exerting himself so much that he lost a stone in weight.<sup>31</sup>

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25. Church News, July 1892, p.691.

26. Church News, July 1901, p.112.

27. Church News, October 1890, p.341.

28. Church News, November 1892, p.752, and February 1893, p.807.

29. 1894 Congress, p.267.

30. Church News, November 1901, p.169.

31. Church News, December 1892, p.7671

On his return, Montgomery was asked to furnish a report to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Queensland Kanaka Traffic. The Bishop wrote that he had started the voyage with a distinct prejudice against the recruiting system, but everything he saw tended to change his opinion. Most of the old evils had ended, although many of the traders possessed "little principle and are hard drinkers". He concluded that as long as the regulations were strictly carried out, mutual benefit could be derived from the trade.<sup>32</sup>

Montgomery found his experiences invaluable for propaganda. On his visitations, he almost invariably gave his "well-known address on Melanesia".<sup>33</sup> Beginning in the January 1893 Church News, he gave a detailed account of his travels and the state of the mission. This resulted in £278.16.3 being collected in 1893 for Melanesia, the largest amount ever collected in the Diocese.<sup>34</sup> In 1896, S.P.C.K. published Montgomery's Church News articles, under the title The Light of Melanesia. The first edition was exhausted by 1897, and by August 1901, 1,500 copies had been sold. All nett profits went to the Melanesian Mission.

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32. PO/36/93, 21 January 1893, Bp's. Report.

33. Church News, January 1895, p.212.

34. 1894 Year Book, p.67.



Continued publicity was given to the mission, and its work. It was hoped that the Melanesian Mission Ship Southern Cross would visit Hobart for the Church Congress, but bad weather prevented this. In 1894, Cecil Wilson became the new Bishop of Melanesia; Montgomery attended his consecration, and became his friend and ally. Bishop Wilson visited Tasmania in March 1898. His visit was necessary, as Tasmania was neglecting Melanesia in favour of New Guinea: only £96 went to Melanesia in 1896.<sup>35</sup> He made another brief visit in December 1900, when money was still hard to raise: Appeals in 1899 and 1900 for money for a new Southern Cross had little effect. Wilson hoped for £50 from Tasmania for his new mission ship, but only about £10 was subscribed after six months' effort.<sup>36</sup>

From his arrival, Montgomery was aware of the missionary needs of New Guinea, and encouraged its support. In May 1891 Rev. A. Maclaren from New Guinea visited Tasmania, and collected £74 for a whale-boat, named The Tasmanian.<sup>37</sup> Church News gave much publicity to the Mission, and in 1895 began publishing a series of articles on its history, written

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35. Church News, October 1897, p.737.

36. Church News, July 1901, p.112.

37. Official Report of the 1891 General Synod, p.XV, Appendix 1.

by Rev. Copeland King at Montgomery's request.

In December 1892, Church News suggested that the Mission be joined to Melanesia.<sup>38</sup> Montgomery advocated this in his following Synod Address, suggesting that Fiji also be included. However, he recognized the difficulties involved: New Guinea was in the Australian sphere, Melanesia in the New Zealand, and Fiji was part of the Bishopric of London.<sup>39</sup> Rev. J. Palmer, acting-head of the Melanesian Mission, approved the scheme of amalgamation,<sup>40</sup> but when Cecil Wilson became Bishop of Melanesia, he refused to agree because it would hinder work in New Guinea.<sup>41</sup> A conference of Bishops at the Hobart Church Congress decided that amalgamation was rendered impracticable both by distance and the distinctive character of each Mission,<sup>42</sup> and efforts were begun to elevate New Guinea to a separate Bishopric instead. Montgomery devoted much energy to this, and the story forms one of the most interesting episodes of his episcopate.

The matter had arisen at the 1891 General Synod when Canon Selwyn of Newcastle moved that a Bishop be appointed for New Guinea. As this was not to be discussed till the last day of Synod, when many of its members had departed, he took the advice of the Primate and withdrew his motion.<sup>43</sup> Interest lapsed till September 1894, when Church News called for a Bishop

38. Church News, December 1892, p.767.

39. Church News, May 1893, p.851.

40. Church News, September 1893, p.921.

41. B.C.57, 2 November 1900, Bp.Melanesia/Bp.

42. B.C.57, 20 January 1896, Sub-Committee Report.

43. Sydney Morning Herald, 5 October 1891, p.5.

in New Guinea.<sup>44</sup> In January and February the following year, the Bishop spoke openly in favour of this.<sup>45</sup> In private, Montgomery had been discussing the matter earlier, though he was uncertain of where to base the proposed Bishop. It had been resolved earlier to establish a Bishopric for the northern shores of Australia and New Guinea, the Bishop being based at Thursday Island.<sup>46</sup> At first, Montgomery favoured a Bishop for the natives of both Northern Australia and New Guinea, based in Darwin, but by early 1895 he had decided that this was impracticable.<sup>47</sup> In July 1895, he sent a memorandum to all the Bishops, calling for immediate establishment of a New Guinea Bishopric. The Governor of the territory, Sir William MacGregor, recommended this, and because he expected action from the Anglicans had kept other Christian bodies out of their area, "though others are longing to prosecute with vigour what we are doing so languidly". Montgomery proposed at the meeting of the ABM on 23 July to support the planned Bishopric at Thursday Island, but also to ask for a concurrent appeal for a Bishop for New Guinea. The latter's salary could be provided by each Diocese giving £20 per annum.<sup>48</sup> Nothing came from this meeting.

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44. Church News, September 1894, p.146.

45. Church News, January 1895, p.214, February 1895, p.220.

46. B.C.57, July 1895, Bp's Memo. to ABM.

47. B.C.48, 8 March 1895, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

48. B.C.57, July 1895, Bp's Memo. to ABM.

On 22 January 1896, Montgomery sent a letter to the Primate, and circulated copies to all the Bishops. In this, he listed three possibilities for New Guinea. One was to hand it over to CMS, the evangelical mission, and thereby lose control over it to a party society. Alternatively they could let Sir William MacGregor hand half the Anglican territory to the Nonconformists "as a confession of weakness". However, the only course open, "if we are not to land ourselves very soon in ignominious disgrace", was to attract English aid, chiefly through asking the Junior Clergy Missionary Association of S.P.G. to provide a Bishop for New Guinea. He had changed his mind once more about the location of this Bishop, suggesting that he could possibly live at Cooktown, and devote his efforts to the Australian aborigines as well as the New Guineans. He expected that SPG would furnish the income for the new Bishop but hoped this English aid would be only temporary. "Settled, the question must soon be".<sup>49</sup> Saumarez Smith replied on 31 January. He was averse to obtaining a Bishop from SPG, as appealing for aid from England was "prematurely abnegating our responsibilities". He wanted the matter to lapse till Australians had been educated to support New Guinea.<sup>50</sup>

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49. B.C.57, 22 January 1896, Bp./Primate.

50. B.C.57, 31 January 1896, Primate/Bp.

At the Hobart Church Congress, a meeting of Bishops on 26 January had appointed a sub-committee, consisting of the Primate and the Bishops of Newcastle and North Queensland, to investigate missionary problems connected with Northern Australia. This sub-committee, in its report in February 1896, advocated a Missionary Bishopric to comprise Thursday Island, Cooktown and New Guinea.<sup>51</sup> This report was unpopular with the more adventurous Bishops. Church News in April 1896 criticized the efforts to form a New Guinea Bishopric as halting and feeble,<sup>52</sup> and simultaneously, Montgomery and Bishop Webber of Brisbane attacked the sub-committee's report. Bishop Webber said that a Bishop for New Guinea alone must be appointed immediately, and strongly recommended that Canon Montagu John Stone-Wigg be chosen as this Bishop. Stone-Wigg's work for missions had been exceptional. He asked the Primate to obtain the opinions of the other Bishops on three questions: that a Bishop be "forthwith appointed", that the post be offered to Stone-Wigg, and that a £400 annual salary be raised by yearly subscriptions, to prevent delay while an endowment was collected. Montgomery added a Memorandum to this letter, supporting Webber's scheme as "an excellent alternative plan"; he was prepared to advocate it instead of his own plan if it would create unity.

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51. B.C.57, Sub-Committee's Report, incorrectly dated 20 January 1896.

52. Church News, April 1896, p.443.

He did not know Stone-Wigg personally, but accepted Webber's judgment. The income could be provided in part by the self-denial of the Bishops, Montgomery personally guaranteeing £20 per annum. The Bishop of Adelaide offered the same sum, and support was immediately forthcoming from the Bishop of Rockhampton.<sup>54</sup>

The Primate replied later the same month. He disagreed with Webber that there had been sufficient time to consider the question, and regretted Stone-Wigg's name being mentioned. He opposed Montgomery's suggested act of self-denial, and instead proposed an endowment fund, though admitting that this would take a long time to collect. The Primate asked all the Bishops if they desired a Bishop, and how much financial support they could expect from their Diocese.<sup>55</sup>

Montgomery immediately circulated his answers to the Primate's queries. This began: "N.B. The Primate's whole attitude in my opinion is vitiated by his inability to see urgency in the situation... He talks of an endowment (I suppose 10,000£) before the Bishopric is created". Montgomery had decided that Cooktown could not be in the new Diocese, as this would make it a hybrid, but Thursday Island and the Torres

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53. B.C.57, 7 April 1896, Bps.Brisbane & Tasmania/Primate.

54. B.C.57, op cit, and April 1896, Primate/ABM

55. B.C.57, April 1896, Primate/ABM

Islands could be included. He still felt it might be necessary to go to England, if CMS implemented its proposal of draining Australia's money and refusing to assist missions under Australian Bishops. The Bishopric could be financed on his plan, but endowment would take years.<sup>56</sup> On 24 April, the Bishop of Perth wrote agreeing with the plan for a guarantee of £400 per annum, and offered £10 per annum.<sup>57</sup> Montgomery used his April Synod Address to publicize the Bishopric, claiming that its need was "fast becoming a scandal".<sup>58</sup>

On 12 May, Montgomery entered the fray more violently by circulating a private memorandum, which stated that those who felt strongly on the Bishopric question and disagreed with the Primate had "no course but to pursue their way, and gain their ends". He advocated obtaining the views of the Bishops "without reference to the Primate, and to approach him last". If sufficient moral and financial support was forthcoming from the majority of Bishops, "our work is done". He was willing to give any necessary aid during the next six months.<sup>59</sup>

On 10 June, Archdeacon David of Brisbane reported that the Brisbane Synod had unanimously voted in favour of the

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56. B.C.57, April 1896, Bp's "present convictions".

57. B.C.57, Bp's memo on Bp.Perth's letter dated 24 April 1896.

58. 1896 Year Book, p.12.

59. B.C.57, 12 May 1896, Bp's private circular.

Bishopric, and the clergy had pledged themselves to raise £40 annually for at least five years.<sup>60</sup> Rev. Alfred Yarnold, Secretary of ABM, also joined the progressive forces in June.<sup>61</sup> Then, on 25 June, Webber changed his tactics. In a letter to the Primate, after strongly protesting at Smith's policy of procrastination, he offered temporarily to shift the burden of New Guinea onto the Brisbane Diocese, if the Primate would agree to his nomination of a Bishop when it could be shown that his stipend was guaranteed for five years.<sup>62</sup> Archdeacon David assured Montgomery that this last proposal was intended only as a lever, to show the urgency of the matter.<sup>63</sup> Webber expected this device to make Smith see the need for action, and asked Montgomery to attack from another direction by detaching North Queensland from the Sydney-Newcastle group. "With us, I hope, are Goulburn, Perth, Adelaide, Grafton & Armidale (??) Bathurst (?). May GOD defend the right!"<sup>64</sup>

While these manouevs were being planned, Stone-Wigg wrote agreeing with the proposed plan for a Bishop; "of course he has not the remotest idea that his name has been suggested!"<sup>65</sup>

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60. B.C.57, 10 June 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

61. B.C.57, 23 June 1896, A.Yarnold/Bp.

62. B.C.57, 25 June 1896, Bp.Brisbane/Primate.

63. B.C.57, 21 July 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

64. B.C.57, 26 June 1896, Bp/Brisbane/Bp.

65. B.C.57, 27 June 1896, Bp/Brisbane/Bp.



The arrival of his letter of approval coincided with another from the Bishop of Goulburn.<sup>66</sup> Webber asked Montgomery to attract Melbourne support, and get them to propose the resolution.<sup>67</sup> He immediately complied.

On 30 June, Montgomery sent a circular to all his clergy asking how much each parish could give to the Bishop's stipend. "I think we all recognize that our honour is at stake".<sup>68</sup> A meeting of the southern clergy on 28 July supported this appeal, and called for either ten shillings or one pound from every parish.<sup>69</sup> In the same month, the Bishop of Bathurst, definitely sided with Montgomery and Webber.<sup>70</sup> However, he later warned, complaining of the Primate's fraternizations with Protestant sects, if the New Guinea Mission was run by the Primate, he would resign from the ABM.<sup>71</sup>

On 16 July, the Primate replied to Bishop Webber's letter of 25 June, objecting to the efforts to force his hand, and

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66. B.C. 57, 27 June 1896, Bp.Goulburn/Bp.

67. B.C. 57, 1 July 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

68. D.L.B. 1895-1899, pp.896-897, 30 June 1896, Bp's circular.

69. Church News, August 1896, p.515.

70. B.C. 57, 12 July 1896, Bp.Bathurst/Bp.

71. B.C. 57, 3September, 1896, Bp.Bathurst/Bp.

doubting both the necessity for a Bishop and the possibility of financing him.<sup>72</sup> Another setback came later in July, when A. E. David found that Yarnold could not move the resolution, being tied to the decision of the executive committee; in any case, he was having doubts as to the expediency of a purely missionary bishopric. David therefore wrote to Canon C. J. Godby of the Melbourne Diocese, asking him to propose the motion.<sup>73</sup> However, the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale settled the question of his standpoint by writing to Montgomery on 29 July giving full approval of the Bishopric.<sup>74</sup>

Two days later, the last great query was ended when the Bishop of North Queensland wrote that he was entirely in favour of a missionary Bishop for New Guinea alone.<sup>75</sup> Previously it had been planned that part of his Diocese should be under a Bishop of New Guinea. Montgomery circulated the replies from the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale and North Queensland to his fellow Bishops, adding that if either Godby and the Dean of Melbourne could not move the Resolution, he was ready.<sup>76</sup>

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72. B.C. 57, 16 July 1896, Primate/Bps.

73. B.C. 57, 21 July 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

74. B.C. 57, 29 July 1896, Bp.Grafton & Armidale/Bp.

75. B.C. 57, 31 July 1896, Bp. North Queensland/Bp.

76. B.C. 57, August 1896, Bp's private circular.

It was not yet certain of Godby, who was wholly in favour of Montgomery's scheme, would be one of the Melbourne representatives to General Synod. Meanwhile, A. E. David was pleased to note that the support being given by the various dioceses was countering the Primate's attempts to prevent advance by stressing the apathy amongst churchmen. "We can cut that ground from under his feet - not a bad way of "forcing his hand", as he terms the application of the bayonet".<sup>77</sup> Further support came with a letter from Bishop Kennion, recently translated from Adelaide to Bath and Wells, who promised £100 towards a New Guinea Bishop.<sup>78</sup>

Bishop Webber then suggested another change of tactics, namely that Montgomery introduce the motion at General Synod. "I well know that you will stand to your guns".<sup>79</sup> Meanwhile, the Primate's supporter, the Bishop of Newcastle, tried a different delaying tactic by telling Montgomery that though he was entirely in favour of the Bishopric, Stone-Wigg would be a disastrous choice.

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77. B.C.57, 5 August 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

78. B.C.57, 7 August 1896, Bp.Bath & Wells/Bp.

79. B.C.57, 11 August 1896, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

"Confidentially - Stone-Wigg is a dear, dull, devoted heavy lump of a man. He would never fire a meeting ... Unless I am wonderfully mistaken & all the hints from Brisbane are all mistakes, the Bp wants to get him out of his Pro Cathedral for the very reason that he is too "heavy" ". 80

However, Webber reassured Montgomery of Stone-Wigg's abilities.<sup>81</sup>

Plans were upset when Godby failed to place a motion on the Agenda Paper. Archdeacon David at once wrote to him asking him to contact Montgomery, and arrange tactics. "One shrinks rather from leaving the matter in the Primate's hands to carry out". He suggested a resolution affirming the principle, and another appointing a committee to find ways of giving effect to this. "If the principle of the guarantee be approved of the Primate could hardly hang back from it".<sup>82</sup>

On 1 September, the Bishop of Riverina agreed to the plan.<sup>83</sup> Then, on 9 September, Godby wrote with the welcome news that "the Bishop of Melbourne would propose, and the Dean second, that new Guinea be created a bishopric, and a Committee be formed to give effect to this resolution. He expected the whole Melbourne contingent to support this."<sup>84</sup> Melbourne's support would disarm the probable Sydney contention that it was a mere

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80. B.C.57, 12 August 1896, Bp.Newcastle/Bp.

81. B.C.57, 28 August 1896, Bp.Brisbane/Bp.

82. B.C.57, 20 August 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

83. B.C.57, 1 September 1896, Bp.Riverina/Bp.

84. B.C.57, 9 September 1896, C.J.Godby/Bp.

High Church move. Meanwhile, Archdeacon David reported that the Primate, being rapidly outmanouvered, was "endeavouring to get the new members of the Mission to pronounce the Sydney shibboleths ", and had written to Webber disputing whether a Bishopric was the right form of organization , even if it was practical. "The log is becoming a stork".<sup>85</sup>

Even this interesting transformation could not prevent the flood of support for the new Bishopric. Church News was giving continuous publicity to the scheme, claiming that a mission without a Bishop was akin to a monstrosity.<sup>86</sup> The Primate still tried to pour cold water on the proposal, demurring in his Presidential Address to General Synod that "whether the urgency of this step be as great as some of my Rt Reverend brethren seem to think, and whether this is to be an opportune time to appeal for this special object or not, is to my mind doubtful".<sup>87</sup> Montgomery seconded the Bishop of Melbourne with a speech of "restrained enthusiasm",<sup>88</sup> and the motion was passed with acclamation.

Montgomery at his next Synod praised "the splended enthusiasm with which the Bishopric...was taken up. We were on

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85. B.C.57, 9 September 1896, A.E.David/Bp.

86. Church News, August 1896, p.514.

87. Official Report of the 1896 General Synod, p.28.

88. Church News, November 1896, p.558.

the crest of a wave and bore everything down before us".<sup>89</sup>  
 not all the  
 However, as/Bishops favoured Stone-Wigg, it was decided to  
 send to England for a Bishop, a policy both Church News and  
Church Messenger opposed.<sup>90</sup> £482.18.6 was collected by May  
 1897 for the guarantee, Tasmania's contribution of £54.17.0  
 being second only to that of the Melbourne Diocese.<sup>91</sup> The  
 attempt to obtain a Bishop from England was not successful,  
 and Stone-Wigg was appointed in July 1897. Montgomery missed  
 his consecration on 25 January 1898, being still on the return  
 journey from Lambeth, but on his arrival in Tasmania met Stone-  
 Wigg in the course of a money-raising campaign. As A .E.David  
 remarked, there had been an "awful muddle" in the finances for  
 New Guinea by the Executive of ABM, "under the direction of the  
 Primate" so the Treasurer said".<sup>92</sup> Stone-Wigg's attempt to  
 retrieve his finances was partially successful.

"Bishop Stone-Wigg has infused new life into every-  
 thing", Montgomery told the 1898 Synod.<sup>93</sup> Even the Primate was  
 converted to the support of the Bishopric by the following  
 General Synod.<sup>94</sup> But financial support from Tasmania was never

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89. 1897 Year Book, p.7.

90. Church News, November 1896, p.560, Church Messenger, November 1896,  
 p.70.

91. Church News, May 1897, p.655.

92. B.C.2, 1898, 24 February 1898, A.E.David/Bp.

93. 1898 Year Book, p.13.

94. Official Report of the 1900 General Synod, p.8.

generous, in spite of all Montgomery's efforts. These were handicapped still further when extreme Evangelicals started agitating against the High Church characteristics of the mission in 1900. However, their attempt to prevent any support for the mission was unsuccessful.

Montgomery was made a Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society early in 1889, but his enthusiasm for it waned when he began to support ABM. CMS was active in Tasmania before he arrived: over £300 had been raised for China in the three years to 1889, and there were several members of the Gleaners' Union in Hobart within three years of its formation.<sup>95</sup> Montgomery gave the Church Missionary Association, his official blessing and held CMS' Australian branch/ its inaugural meeting in 1892 at Bishops-court. Mrs. Montgomery was President of the Tasmanian Branch, which by November 1895 had six groups with a membership of 265.<sup>96</sup> However, membership remained static after this date.

The leaders of the Tasmanian church were however, generally antipathetic to CMS. Church News was unenthusiastic about its party features.<sup>97</sup> Church Messenger complained of the sums CMA sent to England while Australian missions were financially under-supported, and condemned CMS' offer to support Australian

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95. Church News, September 1889, p.142.

96. Church News, December 1895, p 390.

97. Church News, March 1897, p.630, April 1899, p.1021.

missions if it had control over them as "hardly good enough for Australia".<sup>98</sup> Montgomery was dubious about the effect of CMS in Australia: he publicly regretted that in 1896 only £1,300 went from Australia to Melanesia, while £5,000 was sent out of Australia by CMA.<sup>99</sup> He chiefly disliked CMS's aggressive party spirit, and refused to employ its members in his diocese.<sup>100</sup> Australia's duty was, he felt, to support its own ABM missions before all others. But this dislike of CMS's bias and its success in milking the Australian mission field of money did not justify the Christian Record's claim that Montgomery's hostility to the Gleaners' Union "though perhaps veiled, has been very strong".<sup>101</sup>

The climax to Montgomery's missionary work was his organization of the ABM Jubilee Celebrations of 1900. During the 1898 Ballarat Church Congress, a Conference of Bishops agreed to Montgomery's suggestion that General Synod be held in 1900 to coincide with the Jubilee Celebrations. He bowed to the Conference's wish that he organize these celebrations, and sprang to the task with his customary enthusiasm. On 23 February 1899, he sent the Primate a copy of his General Scheme, and added "I wrote yesterday to England, Africa, India, Canada and the United States, to know whether they would send us a Bishop or good representative to

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98. Church Messenger, October 1896, p.51.

99. Church News, October 1897, p.737.

100. B.C.45, 19 February 1897, Bp/F.T.Whittington.

101. Christian Record, December 1901, p.104



support us on such an occasion". He was hopeful that CMA would give support, to show that in missionary work, all Churchmen would join together.<sup>102</sup> The ABM Executive Committee adopted Montgomery's scheme.<sup>103</sup>

In March, The Bishop reported that Stone-Wigg had made a suggestion "which is in my opinion quite excellent - He says

Appoint at once a small Commission of Bishops (three or so) with yourself - ex to present to you a Scheme of Mission work for the next century in the Pacific - OUR ideals. To do it of course in conjunction with New Zealand - not a hard & fast thing - but to show the world that we have a Scheme".

He wanted this worked out by August, circulated to the Bishops for their criticism, and finalized by Christmas. After suggesting possible members for the Commission, and asking Smith to write, immediately to the Primate of New Zealand, he added: "I suppose you had better put me on the Commission or I shall worry them from outside!"<sup>104</sup> In spite of Montgomery's plea that this wide plan "would give some of us the very work we want to do", and that "there is no time to lose",<sup>105</sup> nothing came of the suggestion. However, the rest of the Jubilee preparations continued smoothly. At the 1900 Tasmanian Synod, Montgomery

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102. Bp's L.B., pp. 142-144, 23 February 1899, Bp/Primate.

103. Minute Book of ABM, Executive Council, Special Meeting, 22 March 1899.

104. Bp's L.B., pp. 147-149, March 1899, Bp/Primate.

105. Ibid.

commanded all the Tasmanian representatives to attend the Jubilee meetings. "I believe we have been led to this meeting by the hand of God, and may not treat His call to it lightly without inflicting serious injury upon the Church of the future."<sup>106</sup> On 15 May he left on a rapid tour of the Dioceses of Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Goulburn, Sydney and Bathurst to publicize the Jubilee. He travelled 6,500 miles in six weeks, giving fifty addresses;<sup>107</sup> his trip was successful, and he hoped to raise £10,000.<sup>108</sup>

Before departing for the Sydney Celebrations, Montgomery asked Tasmania not to shame him, but to give £600.<sup>109</sup> It gave £580.15.10, while the whole of Australia gave over £9,000.<sup>110</sup> The Bishops of Nova Scotia, South Tokyo and Waiapu, New Zealand, were present at the celebrations, as well as Mr. J. D. Cullen, a CMS missionary from Calcutta. At the consecration of the Bishop of Carpentaria on 24 August, the culmination of the celebrations, twenty Bishops and over 200 clergy were present. The proceedings were highly successful, arousing much interest; Montgomery told SPG that "for the first

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106. 1900 Year Book, p.59.

107. Church News, July 1900, p.103.

108. Church News, June 1900, p.87.

109. Church News, August 1900, p.123.

110. 1901 Year Book, p.64, Official Report of the 1900 General Synod, p.101.

time in our history, I think, party spirit is hushed".<sup>111</sup>

"The work was an immense success... I never remember such continued sustained fervour at meetings".<sup>112</sup> Church News

reported it as "the most marvellous witness to the inherent power of Church life in these colonies which has ever taken place".<sup>113</sup>

The Bishop was enthusiastically applauded at meetings and was presented with a pectoral cross from all the Bishops to thank him for his efforts.

Montgomery had a benevolent interest in the formation of the Bishopric of Carpentaria during the ABM Jubilee. He had advocated such a Bishopric in June 1894,<sup>114</sup> although he felt priority must go to New Guinea.<sup>115</sup> Before his consecration, the first Bishop of Carpentaria, Gilbert White, asked Montgomery to prepare him for his Episcopate. Montgomery later wrote: "I had never met him. I assented, & we spent 10 days together and I told him of all the mistakes I had made... After we had finished he desired to make his Confession & did. The next day he was consecrated".<sup>116</sup> From those ten days started their lifelong friendship, Mrs. Montgomery recalled.<sup>117.</sup>

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111. S.P.G. Records, copies of Letters Received, Tasmania, Vol. I, 13 August 1900, Bp/H.W. Tucker.

112. Ibid, 10 September 1900, Bp/H.W. Tucker.

113. Church News, September 1900, p.136.

114. Church News, June 1894, p.100

115. Church News, January, 1895, p.214.

116. H.H. Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop..., (London Bp's foreword added in 1923. 1905)

117. M.M., Bishop Montgomery, A. Memoir, (London, 1933), p.4.3.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been extremely generous to all Australian dioceses early in their history, but Montgomery was one of the few Australian Bishops who attempted to repay this help. Total financial repayment was not feasible, but something was done in this line, and the Bishop did all he could to publicize SPG's work. Prebendary Tucker, Secretary of SPG, was angry at the way Australia's "always insignificant offerings" were allocated, and was thankful to see Montgomery's intentions.<sup>118</sup>

The Bishop regarded the Hobart Church Congress as an ideal opportunity for SPG to publicize itself, and on 12 August 1893, asked for two "men of spirituality" to be sent;<sup>119</sup> however, Tucker replied that the condition of the Australian church did not make the time "opportune" to send a delegation.<sup>120</sup> In spite of this, Tasmania gave publicity to SPG at Congress time, Church News lamenting that Australia only sent £22 to SPG in 1892.<sup>121</sup> In his Presidential Address, Montgomery made special mention of the Society

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118. SPG. Records, 18 September 1893, H.W.Tucker/Bp.

119. SPG. Records, Copies of Letters Received, Tasmania, vol. I.  
12 August 1893, Bp/H.W.Tucker.

120. SPG. Records, 6 October 1893, H.W.Tucker/Bp.

121. Church News, October 1893, p.935.

"Whose very name we in this hemisphere can never pronounce without emotion... Had a representation of that great Society been present I should have taken upon myself to have asked this great audience to have risen as one man, and with one voice to have told our deep sense of favours received, which we can never forget, and which we wish we could repay". 122

Montgomery continued to interest himself in SPG, and, as noted, suggested that SPG provide a Bishop for New Guinea. In 1896, he wrote to the Junior Clergy Association of SPG, suggesting the formation of a Foreign Service Order.<sup>123</sup> Whilst in England in 1897, he undertook a long list of engagements for SPG. Then, in April 1899, Montgomery again wrote to Tucker, asking for a "first rate missionary" to attend the ABM Jubilee meetings. "I say it in defence and in the interest of SPG. CMA is sure to have a good man, burning with zeal; and they may sweep the board".<sup>124</sup> SPG did not send a representative, but the Bishop again managed to publicize their work: he gave the last speech of the Celebrations, and said that everything was basically due to SPG.<sup>125</sup> At the General Synod immediately following the Jubilee celebrations, Whittington proposed a motion thanking SPG for its services to Australia, and congratulating it on its bicentenary. The Bishop, through

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122. 1894 Congress, p.12.

123. B.C.57, 7 August 1896, Bp.Bath & Wells/Bp.

124. SPG. Records, Original Letters Received, Africa, Australia & Pacific, 1899, Bp/H.W.Tucker.

125. SPG.Records, Copies of Letters Received, Tasmania, vol. I. 10 September 1900, Bp/H.W.Tucker.

Church News, gave much publicity to this Bicentenary, and called on all parishes to have collections for it. A special service was held at the Cathedral, and Tasmania collected £32.0.11.<sup>126</sup>

Montgomery's enthusiasm had been noted in England. He not only preached on missions when in England for Lambeth, but gave the first address of the Conference, on the need for zeal for missions, at Archbishop Temple's request.<sup>127</sup> He also acted as Secretary to a Sub-Committee of 57 Bishops on Foreign Missions. The fruit of these endeavours was reaped in 1901.

In June 1901 Church News, an article was published concerning the resignation of H. W. Tucker as Secretary to SPG. This article, unsigned, but in fact written by Montgomery, stressed the importance of finding a good man to replace him. "Let us pray that the rulers of the Church at home may be guided aright at this time as they make their decision".<sup>128</sup> Montgomery was also writing to his friends amongst the English Bishops, "laying before them with insistent earnestness his ideals of what the new Secretary should be".<sup>129</sup> Then, on 6 June, came a telegram signed by the Archbishops of Westminster and York, and

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126. 1902 Year Book, p.62.

127. MM., op.cit, p.72.

128. Church News, June 1901, p.93.

129. MM., Op.cit, p.48.

the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Newcastle, asking permission to nominate him for the post. Mrs. Montgomery later wrote: "To say that the bishop and his wife were dismayed is hardly the word. They were overwhelmed with sorrow".<sup>130</sup> This was no exaggeration: Montgomery at once cabled the news to the Primate: "My heart says no - advise".<sup>131</sup>

On 7 June, Montgomery wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving reasons why he was reluctant immediately to accept the post.

"Your telegram overwhelmed me: and I acknowledge that if ever any document was a mandate from the Church, that one was". However, "is it in any sense Episcopal work?...Age I am now nearly 54 and I have never called myself a strong man, though I have never ailed... I promised faithfully that I would never return (to England) unless I had become useless and an encumbrance... God has led me to love this new land and these folk in Greater Britain so much that it would be anguish for both of us to leave these shores". He felt he must raise these points before moving from "a sphere which is truly loved by us. After your Committee have duly weighed these facts - (there will be three ex-Bishops of Tasmania at home if you send for me) I desire humbly and unreservedly to place myself in the hands of the rulers of the Church... I await your answer as interpreting for me the Will of God for me and mine... I trust you will understand that the work of the new Secretary of SPG seems to me to be one of the most important and onerous that England has to offer".

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130. Ibid. p.47

131. D.L.B. 1899-1903, p.502, 6 June 1901 Bp/Primate.

132. Bp's L.B. pp.459-464, 7 June 1901, Bp/Archbishop of Canterbury.

In answer to his wire "Is it episcopal vocation", he received the reply: "World-wide oversight surely episcopal, if Australia can rightly spare you". He answered on 16 July: "Difficulty removed. Australia consents,"<sup>133</sup> and on 25 July was elected Secretary.<sup>134</sup> The Tasmanian press was informed that he was a candidate for the post on 26 July, and the evening papers printed a telegram from the Archbishop of Canterbury: "You are unanimously elected".<sup>135</sup> On 28 July, his sermon at the Cathedral had as its text "I also am a man under authority". In this sermon, he said that he had no choice: his advisers had all agreed on this.<sup>136</sup> As he wrote to his father-in-law, "if those six men could not interpret God's will for a churchman, then there is no such thing as the Voice of God to man through man". After the decision had been made, he decided there was no post in the world he would rather hold. "To create a sort of foreign secretaryship of Anglican missions... The outlook is terrifying in its possibilities".<sup>137</sup> Montgomery's sermon on 28 July reported that he would be "as it were Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs

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133. MM., op cit, p.48.

134. SPG., Standing Committee Minutes, Vol. 53, pp.298-300, 25 July 1901.

135. Tasmanian News, 26 July 1901, p.2.

136. Church News, August 1901, pp.121-122

137. MM., op cit, pp. 48-49



for the Anglican Communion". Letters from England showed that his appointment was an attempt to bind more firmly together the various Dioceses of the Church of England, a scheme with which Montgomery was entirely in sympathy.<sup>138</sup>

Attitudes on his impending departure varied.

Church News called his new appointment a great gain for the whole church,<sup>139</sup> but the Christian Record, with little regard for SPG's welfare, felt that "it may be that God is taking the first step towards sending us the blessing long prayed for by some by removing a great hindrance to a real revival of true religion".<sup>140</sup> It hoped Montgomery would not be "Foreign Secretary" of the Church, and Wisdom sent a letter to SPG querying this announcement. SPG replied that Montgomery would not hold such a position.<sup>141</sup>

In his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, querying whether he was the right man for SPG, Montgomery confessed that "it is because the work is all Missionary here that I love it so. Great questions such as Education, Temperance, Social problems between classes, come to me as duties, ~~and~~ Missionary questions come to me as joys".<sup>142</sup>

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138. Church News, August 1901, p.121.

139. Ibid, p.124.

140. Christian Record, August 1901, p.58.

141. Christian Record, November 1901, p.98.

142. Bp's L.B., p.463, 7 June 1901, Bp/Archbishop of Canterbury.

This was evident at all stages of his episcopate, and was the reason for his becoming Secretary of SPG, a post in which he excelled. His missionary interests made his work in Tasmania unique from that of any other Bishop. But he failed to spread his enthusiasm for missions to the ordinary Anglican, who refused to support the work financially, or even take it very seriously.

PART FOUR

CHURCH THOUGHT, IN THEORY AND  
PRACTICE.

CHAPTER IXTHE CHURCH AND THOUGHT.

"Alas! too often the Church has attempted to check knowledge from fear of that which soon afterwards was found to be nothing but the truth after all. Too often she has opposed what she should have been the first to advocate, and it is the non-believer at times who has done the good work".<sup>1</sup> So spoke Montgomery in his Enthronement Sermon on 29 October 1889; and these views led him to attempt to guide his church into the paths of current theological thought. However, the needs of a colonial diocese being essentially practical, the success of such efforts was short-lived, interest in theology being confined to a small minority of the clergy. These were principally of the High Church party, with the prominent exception of Archdeacon Hales, a staunch if inconsistent Evangelical. One aspect of Church thought which recurred in this period, was the self-confident assertiveness of the Church of England; which proclaimed not only that it was the Ancient English Church, but that also it had the purest faith, avoided both Protestant and Catholic excesses, and encompassed all the best in the denominations.

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1. Church News, November 1889, p.173.

Montgomery's own theological views were eclectic and tolerant. He never claimed an original viewpoint; an English paper cryptically informed Tasmania before his arrival that "if anyone cared to class Montgomery as a theologian, the best description of him would be that his theology is much the same as that of his respected father-in-law,<sup>2</sup> only less so".<sup>3</sup> Montgomery gained from his mentors Deans Farrar and Stanley a breadth of thought rare in religious circles, whilst still holding fast to the basic Anglican doctrines. This liberalism encompassed not only ritual differences, but also formalities. He once permitted a woman whose husband refused to let her be confirmed to take Communion in spite of her doctrinal unfitness.<sup>4</sup> But when questions of morality as well as doctrine were involved, as with divorced persons seeking to take Communion, he refused to relax Church regulations.

Montgomery's persistently called for broadmindedness and respect for other viewpoints. The main reason for this, besides the heritage of Stanley and Farrar, was his appreciation of the significance of secular history. History, in the widest provided sense, "clear lessons patent to all", and its importance could not be overrated. "There is nothing which humbles and makes men

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2. Dean Farrar.

3. Church News, June 1889, p.82.

4. Bp's L.B., pp. 437-438.

sympathetic and tolerant of others so much as history".<sup>5</sup> Montgomery particularly objected to the dogmatism of people who thought they had the answer to any religious question; history proved their absurdity. "Some persons think that any one after prayer can explain any part of the Bible without further help. Wide reading of history proves that there are parts of Scripture which no one really understands as yet".<sup>6</sup>

Montgomery's interest in history led him to be an amateur historian. He wanted parishes to keep records of interesting events,<sup>7</sup> and stressed the historical value of publishing local news in the Church News.<sup>8</sup> He appealed for historical material to be given to the Cathedral Library, and collected much himself, besides keeping records of his own episcopate, sometimes with notations obviously intended for posterity.<sup>9</sup> But Montgomery was more than an archivist: he encouraged Ernest Whitfeld to publish in Church News his histories of the various Tasmanian Parishes, and himself planned to write a history of the first seventy years of Anglicanism in Tasmania. His removal to England prevented this, but Montgomery

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5. Church News, June 1892, p.679.

6. Ibid, p.680.

7. Church News, May 1890, p.267.

8. Church News, January 1892, p.577.

9. For example, B.C.4.

continued to collect material for the Church; as late as 1917 he sent some letters concerning early church history to the Cathedral Library, and regretted to G.W.Shoobridge that he had been unable to write his history.<sup>10</sup>

At a meeting at the Colonial Institute in London, just after his consecration, Montgomery referred to the Royal Society "as one of the objects to which I ought to direct my attention".<sup>11</sup> Montgomery's historical enthusiasm led him to fulfil this promise, and he not only delivered several papers to the Tasmanian Royal Society, mostly on the Furneaux Islands, but in 1899 became its Vice President, a position he held until his departure. He collected historical material for the Society, including part of the Knopwood Diaries, and arranged for the presentation of early sketches of Tasmania. He represented the Society on several formal occasions. On his departure from Tasmania in 1901, he was made an honorary members of the Society at a farewell meeting.<sup>12</sup> Montgomery remained interested in its work, and in 1912 successfully protested against a proposal that the de Wesselow sketches he had obtained be sold.<sup>13</sup>

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10. Shoobridge MSS, 15 January 1917, Bp/G.W.Shoobridge.

11. Mercury, 7 November 1901, p.3.

12. Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania, 1901, pp.xxxiv - xxxvii.

13. Royal Society MSS, 20 April 1912, Bp/J.W.Beattie.

Montgomery was primarily responsible for the formation in 1899 of the Historical and Geographical Section of the Royal Society. He was its first President, J.B.Walker and J. W. Beattie being Vice-Presidents. The Bishop procured a chest for historical documents, and personally collected memoirs, aboriginal remains, and other historical data.<sup>14</sup>

The way that some Tasmanian clergy kept up with modern currents in theological thought was best exemplified in one of the chief questions of the time, Biblical Criticism. Montgomery said in his enthronement sermon that both the Bishop and his clergy should be acquainted with the most recent theories and discoveries about the Bible.<sup>15</sup> They could then publicise these discoveries for the edification of the theologically-ignorant laity. During 1890, he gave a series of sermons at the Cathedral on the inspiration of the Old Testament, to large congregations. In the first of these, he deprecated the formation of any precise theory of inspiration, regarding the Old Testament as a record of the progressive revelation of God and morality.<sup>16</sup> These remarks were greeted with some caution: the Southern Clerical Society on 9 September discussed the advisability of imparting.

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14. Royal Society, Minutes of Historical & Geographical Section, especially 1 July 1899, Bp/Alex.Morton.

15. Church News, November 1889, p. 173.

16. Church News, September 1890, p.229.



Biblical criticism "more or less destructive of old and settled views to mixed congregations". However, it favoured the ventilation of these problems in some form.<sup>17</sup> The St. John the Baptist Magazine thought the Bishop's remarks might do good in that they would make people think and be wary of bibliolatry, but warned that he was in the advance guard of modern criticism, and many of his theories were unproven.<sup>18</sup>

Montgomery gave details of his views to the 1891 Synod. He was not alarmed at the criticism of the Old Testament, as history had taught him that "theologians have ever been too chary to learn the truths of science. They have discovered too late that, as all truth is one, they should have welcomed all that every investigator of God's ways in the world has to teach us". He agreed with other theologians that to claim ideal perfection for the Bible was to make claims for it which Scripture nowhere made for itself. The Bible was not a manual of science, and the advance of science did no overthrow it.<sup>19</sup> In May 1892 he gave a lecture at the Synod Hall which surveyed the whole field of

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17. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 9 September 1890.

18. St. John the Baptist Magazine, October 1890, p.27.

19. Church News, May 1891, Supplement pp.2-3.

Biblical Criticism, based on his understanding of the lessons of history. To him, the Bible contained the Word of God, and he attacked the German Reformation which exalted an infallible Bible "perfect... in grammar, natural science, topography and chronology, and a book which any one could explain by private judgment ". In opposing this "idolatry of the Bible", Montgomery quoted earlier Christian beliefs on science, such as Calvin "disproving" Copernicus by quoting the Bible to show that the sun revolved around the earth. "Yet good, well-meaning men, are still walking in the same errors, making theories first, then alarmed because facts will not fit them, then saying the facts are false".<sup>20</sup>

If the ordinary layman disapproved of these views, he suffered in silence. Church News agreed that literalism was childish,<sup>21</sup> and that ideas on the Old Testament must change with archaeological discoveries.<sup>22</sup> It reminded its readers that the law of Christ was higher than that of the Old Testament.<sup>23</sup> However, the Evangelicals were cautious of the higher criticism; although the Christian Record favoured the "reverent study of the Word of Truth and Salvation", it

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20. Church News, June 1892, pp.679-681.

21. Church News, May 1891, p.454.

22. Church News, March 1891, p.417.

23. Church News, October 1898, p.924.

opposed those who "in the pride of their intellect, criticize the revelation of a Being so infinitely superior to ourselves".<sup>24</sup>

If Montgomery's views were not criticized, the more advanced ones of Archdeacon Hales were. Hales was a rare figure in the colonies, being more modern in his views of the Bible than most in England. To the ordinary priest, he was known as "seven foot of bad theology".<sup>25</sup> Dr. Momerie, an advanced theologian from England, visited Trinity at Hales's request in 1895, and was delighted to find that his own teachings were identical with what Hales had been imparting for thirty years.<sup>26</sup> There were few like him even in England, Momerie reported.<sup>27</sup> Hales based his speculations on the obvious truth that if Christianity were endangered by Biblical critics, then it was not worth saving.<sup>28</sup> He believed that Christ "never promised an infallible church, an infallible book, or an infallible visible guide".<sup>29</sup> He only obeyed the law of Moses where Christ or St. Paul accepted it, and stressed that the true parts of the Bible must be good, on this ground rejecting Old

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24. Christian Record, December 1900, p.97.

25. The Harbinger of Light, 1 October 1895.

26. Ibid, and Family Churchman, 1 March 1895.

27. The Town and Country Journal, 31 October 1896.

28. Mercury, 27 March 1889.

29. Examiner, 8 May 1900, p.8.

Testament barbarities.

Articles by Hales on the inspiration of the Bible were published in the English paper Church Gazette in 1898. Then in 1899, due to the requests of friends, Hales published Some Thoughts on the Bible, chiefly comprising earlier essays, including those in The Church Gazette and two papers on Genesis published in 1888 at Bishop Sandford's request. In his paper on the Inspiration of the Bible, he wrote that the sacred books were "simply the work of eminent Churchmen in the first ages". They were collected by men and their main authority was their general use by the early Church.<sup>30</sup> God only inspired the writers to inculcate "right feelings" through their books, and inaccuracies in history were to be expected. The Bible was written by the "combined action of the human spirit with the Divine Spirit", the latter merely directing and stimulating the former.<sup>31</sup> Characteristics of human nature, as in the case of St. Paul, did assert themselves.<sup>32</sup> Because of the need to distinguish between what came from God and what from man, Christians had to criticize the Bible "in precisely the same way as any other human writing is examined and tested".<sup>33</sup> Old Testament history was suspect and should be

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30. F. Hales, Some Thoughts on the Bible, (Melbourne, 1899), p.3.

31. Ibid, p. 17.

32. Ibid, p.18.

33. Ibid, p.27.

tested by archaeology; their miracles "may be no more than the imaginations, or exaggerations of the unknown writers".<sup>34</sup>

Likewise, the prophet's belief that he was inspired by God might be untrue.<sup>35</sup> He concluded that "feelings, not facts, were the objects of Divine inspiration".<sup>36</sup>

In his 1888 paper on Genesis I, he wrote that this was "essentially a poem and nothing else, conceived by a genius of the highest order"; it must not be interpreted literally.<sup>37</sup> Hales noted traces of the original story in the records of earlier races.<sup>38</sup> His Critical Essay on the Psalms referred to some of them as "inhuman in a terrible degree",<sup>39</sup> and he argued against the common supposition that the Bible presented only one perfect form of truth. "If numerous passages in the Psalms are placed side by side with the teaching of Jesus, there will be found absolute contradiction".<sup>40</sup> However, elements of truth existed in the Old Testament, but they were "undeveloped and powerless".<sup>41</sup>

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34. Ibid, p.28

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid, p.33.

37. Ibid, p.36.

38. Ibid, p.54.

39. Ibid, p.68.

40. Ibid, p.72.

41. Ibid, p.73.

Opinions on Hales' book varied. "Whatever else may be charged against the Archdeacon, he is not wanting in courage", remarked Church News at the end of a cautious review.<sup>42</sup> London's Literary World considered that if this booklet had been published forty years previously, he would have been excommunicated. "Tasmanian churchmen must be much better instructed than some of their brethren at home if such teaching as the Archdeacon purveys is passed without remark".<sup>43</sup> Hales' age prevented many outbursts against his views in 1900, but earlier the disputes had been very bitter indeed. He told critics that his object had been to vindicate the Bible from those Christians whose erroneous literalism made its teachings contrary to science, justice, and even common sense; nothing was more fertile cause of disbelief, than this attitude.<sup>44</sup>

With such views on the Bible current amongst leaders of Tasmanian Church thought, they naturally welcomed the discoveries of science. Church News regarded the domains of science and religion as almost entirely separate, and it was "almost inconceivable" that there should have been any serious conflict.<sup>45</sup> Montgomery believed that scientific discoveries

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42. Church News, January 1900, p.11.

43. Literary World, 12 October 1900.

44. Examiner, 7 January 1900.

45. Church News, February 1892, p.604.

supported Christian teachings,<sup>46</sup> though the Church stressed that they did not lead to ultimate truth.<sup>47</sup> Most clergy accepted Darwin's theory of evolution, but Church News reminded them it did not explain the beginnings of the spiritual life.<sup>48</sup> Francis Hales actively helped the dissemination of scientific knowledge in Launceston,<sup>49</sup> and was the first President of the Launceston Natural Science Association formed in 1890.

Montgomery, a good propagandist, wished to enlighten his flock on the advances in Biblical Criticism and general theological thought, besides the lessons of Church History. He told the Northern clergy in July 1890 of his horror at finding the ignorance of the bush population, many children growing up totally ignorant of the rudiments of their faith; he urged the clergy to teach as well as preach.<sup>50</sup> To teach, they must learn their own doctrine, and to help this, the Southern clergy at Montgomery's behest had formed in March and April of that year a Society for the Promotion of Definite Theological Study. A Committee was formed under the presidency of the Bishop, and all clergy and lay readers were invited to join,<sup>51</sup> but none did.

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46. Church News, May 1893, p.853.

47. Church News, February 1893, p.811.

48. Church News, December 1898, p.955.

49. Examiner, 13 May 1893, The Tasmanian, 5 May 1894.

50. Church News, August 1890, p.307.

51. Church News, May 1890, p.263.

To spread theological knowledge to the laity, Montgonery planned to stimulate the formation of a Reading Society on the English pattern, with voluntary examinations, cheap literature, and systematic teaching of a popular nature designed to reach everybody.<sup>52</sup> This grandiose scheme had to be shelved, but more localized schemes were successfully implemented. In 1890, the Cathedral held lectures in Biblical Criticism from the Bishop, and Church History from the Dean. During 1891, afternoon conferences were arranged at the Cathedral for those interested in the latest religious thought; these conferences attempted to give an intellectual approach to Christianity.<sup>53</sup>

The Southern Clerical Society on 8 March 1892 decided to hold a series of popular lectures on Church History at the Synod Hall.<sup>54</sup> Six lectures were held; Rev. Richard Dixon, Secretary for the series, reported that it "far surpassed the most sanguine expectations", and people were asking for more such lectures.<sup>55</sup> Further series of lectures were given in 1893 and 1895. Canon Kelly's lectures on Church History at St. John's,

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52. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.2.

53. Church News, July 1891, p.490.

54. Southern Clerical Society, Minute Book, 8 March 1892.

55. Church News, July 1892, p.697.



Launceston, in 1894 had been poorly attended,<sup>56</sup> but this did not discourage the Church, and the 1895 Hobart lectures were repeated in Launceston. A final series of Church history lectures was given in 1897. After 1897, religious questions were discussed at the Launceston Diocesan Conferences, held almost every year with increasing success.

The leading parishes had organizations for discussing and disseminating religious knowledge. The Cathedral headed the Southern church education movement, forming the St. David's Literary Society in 1892. There were good attendances at first to discuss topical questions, but by 1894 interest had waned.<sup>57</sup>

In the latter nineteenth-century, many Christians, especially those within the Church of England, defined their doctrinal positions by their attitude to other denominations. Montgomery was cool towards all other denominations, and his church's relations with them was only superficially polite, covering a deep antagonism to their claims. In his enthronement sermon, Montgomery forbade the interchange of pulpits and similar attempts at union with other denominations; however, "we should be warm friends, in social intercourse, with members

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56. Church News, April 1894, p.66.

57. Church News, May 1894, p.82.

of other communions and love to be their friends".<sup>58</sup> This was a polite way of expressing his private views; he advised later Bishops to tell their clergy "not to despise dissenters. Be very courteous socially, don't mind their pettinesses. They are not usually gentlemen".<sup>59</sup> In his private memorandum on the condition of the Diocese in 1897, he referred to the Wesleyans as "the enemy",<sup>60</sup> and spoke of the work at D'Entrecasteaux as "a fight between us & Wesleyans. We shall win!"<sup>61</sup> Montgomery and his church regarded themselves as surrounded by enemies; in a letter attempting to prevent open friction over differences within the Church, the Bishop wrote that "with bitter enemies all round us, especially Roman Catholics, we don't want to wash our dirty linen in public... I attribute to the R.C.'s the publication in the papers of the garbage of some few "Churchmen"... Anything to throw mud at the Church". It was necessary for the Anglicans to "show an united front" and give no "Cause for derision to enemies".<sup>62</sup>

The sentiments were kept private and Montgomery and his clergy formed genuine friendships with individual members of

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58. Church News, November 1889, p.173.

59. H.H.Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop... (London, 1905) p.7.

60. B.C.3, L.

61. B.C.3, D.

62. Bp's L.B., p. 157, 28 March 1899, Bp/T.deHoghton.

the "enemy" clergy. And there were features of Protestant organisation and enthusiasm which the Church envied. Individual parishes often showed a broad spirit in their activities, while in return the Nonconformists were friendly on formal occasions.

Montgomery's strictures on the lack of gentlemanliness amongst the Dissenters was no exaggeration. The latter took every opportunity to abuse the Church of England, especially when she appeared to act as the Established Church. One particular example of this was a bitter dispute over the state funeral in 1899 of Alfred Pillinger, Minister of Lands and Works in which the Nonconformists charged the Anglicans with deliberately spiting them by taking the burial service of one of their own denomination. Most of the complaints arose from the Nonconformists' inferiority complex over their standing in the state.<sup>63</sup> Besides these pinpricks over imagined slights, there was deliberate interference in Anglican endeavours, and attempts to stir up ritual strife within the Church.<sup>64</sup>

On its part, the Church of England was irritated at Catholic claims of superiority. One of the main reasons for the series of Church History lectures was to prove that the

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63. See Hutchins' L.B. pp.142-154, Church News, June 1899, pp.1062-1063, P.O./139/99

64. For example, PO/171/98, and Church News, August 1899, p.1089.

Anglican Church was the Ancient English Church, Catholicism being merely an unwanted intruder. The Anglicans attempted to obtain precedence at State functions over the Catholic hierarchy,<sup>65</sup> Church News in 1896 insisting that the Church refuse to accept state precedence afforded to Catholic prelates.<sup>66</sup> However, by 1899 it had decided that the precedence squabble was pointless.<sup>67</sup> Church News articles on Catholicism, especially after 1896, were antagonistic, and the Catholic Monitor in reply abused the "lethargic", "somnolent", and "torpid" Church News.<sup>68</sup> The immediate cause of this friction was the Pope's declaration in 1896 that Anglican Orders were invalid. Church News spoke of "the contemptuous attitude" Anglicans should<sup>take</sup> to the Bull, for "no one likes to be called a bastard, even though convinced of the legitimacy of his birth".<sup>69</sup> The News would have preferred the recognition of Anglican Orders "which history now compels, because it must have<sup>been</sup> followed by the withdrawal of the intrusive and schismatic body of Roman clergy, whose

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65. Clipper, 13 June 1896, p.4.

66. Church News, September 1896, p.523.

67. Church News, September 1899, p.1105.

68. Monitor, 15 April 1897, p.7.

69. Church News, December 1896, p.571.

presence in England is an indignity and whose claims are an insult. But God intends to use other means for ending the scandal".<sup>70</sup> But the Anglicans did not lower themselves to the level of sectarian bitterness in which the Dissenters specialized; when a former Catholic priest named Slattery was imported in 1900 to execrate the Catholic Church, the Church of England remained icily aloof.

Undenominationalism was "the least common multiple of weak forms of Christianity", and was therefore "to be abhorred".<sup>71</sup> Because of this view, Montgomery refused to allow Anglican participation in "Union Chapels", and no Dissenting clergy could use Anglican churches. He was prepared to be President of the interdenominational Bible Society, but always felt "uncomfortable at undenominational meetings because it is very distinctly not our platform". If anybody did not damage his Church views by participation in such a body as the Y.M.C.A.", I think it is a subject of congratulation". The reason for this disapproval of unsectarianism was that although in England the Church's position was established beyond question, in parts of the colonies it was fighting for existence, and had to show that it was not "a mere sect of yesterday".<sup>72</sup>

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70. Ibid., p.573.

71. H.H.Montgomery, op cit, p.8.

72. B.C.10, 28 May 1894, Bp/Hobart clergy.

The Evangelicals had none of Montgomery's exclusive views. Archdeacon Hales regarded the relationship of the sects with the Church as of "the closest character", and their ministry was valid.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, he took the unusual standpoint for an Anglican archdeacon of arguing that the Thirty-Nine Articles had "no claim to be called essential to a Church's existence".<sup>74</sup> Church News was unable to agree with this "amiable toleration" of the Sects.<sup>75</sup> On the basis of such views, Hales on several occasions advocated that any Protestant sect could rejoin the Church of England without giving up any of its beliefs;<sup>76</sup> this was unity without uniformity with a vengeance. The Christian Record thoroughly approved all efforts at closer fraternization with the Protestant denominations,<sup>77</sup> though it attacked any with Catholics. It felt Anglican isolation was impractical, and thought the "other Evangelical and Protestant Churches" held doctrines almost identical to the Anglicans.<sup>78</sup>

Although unflattering in their views of other denominations, Montgomery and his church were in favour of eventual reunion. In his 1896 Synod Address, the Bishop said that his

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73. F. Hales, op cit, p.150.

74. Ibid, p.151.

75. Church News, January 1900, p.11.

76. Daily Telegraph, 20 October 1899.

77. Christian Record, May 1900, p.9.

78. Christian Record, June 1901, p.34.

church had a mission to unite the English race, though not the Latin or Oriental. He did not want bitterness against other sects, but respect; however, centuries would probably elapse before respect changed to reunion.<sup>79</sup> This Synod passed a motion commending prayer "for the restoration of such unity as shall be most agreeable to the will of God".<sup>80</sup> Montgomery regarded Anglicanism as combining the best principles of both Catholics and Protestants, namely obedience and liberty, and therefore, offered the widest basis for union.<sup>81</sup> However, reunion must be on the formulations of the 1888 Lambeth Conference: the Bible, the Nicene Creed, the two Sacraments, and the divinely-ordained Episcopate, but permit a great diversity of opinion on secondary questions.<sup>82</sup> Church News warning that reunion without diversity would renew divisions and bitterness. But "the Church of England will never unite with foreign churches while they hold improper doctrine".<sup>83</sup>

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Low and High factions had always operated within the Church in Tasmania, as everywhere else. They presented

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79. 1895 Year Book, p.10.

80. Church News, May 1895, p.272.

81. Church News, May 1892, p.655.

82. Ibid, pp.654,655.

83. Church News, November 1892, p.756.

a constant problem to Montgomery, but until 1899, he kept them in check. Unknown to him, his own choice as Bishop was regretted by one party of the clergy who desired <sup>a</sup> High Churchman. From the remarks of the Archbishop of Canterbury in announcing Montgomery's appointment, it appeared that Archdeacon Hales had written privately to him asking for a Low Church Bishop. This was unauthorized by Synod and the High Church clergy felt Hales' action was "illegal and unjust".<sup>84</sup> When they heard reports from three independent sources that Montgomery was "decidedly Low",<sup>85</sup> a Memorial signed by five Hobart clergy was sent to W. F. Kemp of the SPG on 13 April protesting against "such a grievous wrong".<sup>86</sup> Kemp was asked to check on the rumour, and, if Montgomery was Low Church, he was to receive a copy of the Memorial, which gave details of Tasmania's High Church character. A copy was also to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Memorial said that it was doubtful whether one third of the clergy or one seventh of the lay Synod representatives were decided Low Churchmen. Bishop Sandford was contacted by four of these clergy, and Canon G. F. Archer of All Saint's wrote an additional letter

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84. SPG Records, 30 July 1889, C.L.Dundas/W.F.Kemp.

85. Ibid, 3 April 1889, C.L.Dundas/W.F.Kemp.

86. Ibid, 3 April 1889, Dundas, Archer, Finnis, Shoobridge/Bp.Sandford



to Sandford criticising Montgomery's personal qualities; Archer thought Montgomery was only selected because of the influence of Archdeacon Farrar. Kemp sent the Memorial to Sandford, who replied: "The feeling is natural perhaps - but I am persuaded groundless...I advise you to suppress these Memorials. They are foolish under any circumstances".<sup>87</sup> This was done, and the Memorialists calmed. Dundas wrote in June that "I should have preferred the second name on the list", but, as Montgomery had been consecrated, he would get a "cordial welcome...& hearty support".<sup>88</sup> And this is what happened.

Conflict was personal as well as doctrinal; the Special Session of Synod held in November 1888 to arrange for the appointment of a successor to Bishop Sandford was disfigured by an unseemly dispute between Archdeacon Hales and Dean Dundas over which of them should be interim administrator.<sup>89</sup> Dundas led the High Church party, Hales the Evangelical. On his sixth day in Tasmania, that of his official Reception, Montgomery commented in his Diary: "A terrible day. Such trouble about use of Processional Cross - also about duties of Hales and of the Dean at the Service of Enthronement. I acted as Peacemaker - drove backwards and forwards between the two houses".<sup>90</sup> The Processional

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87. Ibid, 14 May 1889, Bp. Sandford/W.F. Kemp.

88. Ibid, 23 June 1889, C.L. Dundas/H.W. Tucker.

89. Church News, December 1888, p.178.

90. Bp's Diary, 28 October 1889.

cross had been given by Archdeacon Davenport, formerly of Hobart, and Montgomery's Enthronement was its first use. This "Romish practice" aroused the wrath of many, and its use brought<sup>a</sup> "very widespread, and largely given expression to, feeling of dissatisfaction", according to the Mercury; <sup>91</sup> Church News reported, on the contrary, that many who previously objected to it "were quite won to the opposite opinion when they saw it in actual use".<sup>92</sup> Part of the choir threatened to secede over the Cross, but finally compromised by taking no part in the procession.<sup>93</sup>

Montgomery calmed all fears once the excitement over his arrival passed. His emphasis was on breadth of view and tolerance for the opinion of others. When asked his own party affiliations, a favourite answer was "Evangelical High Churchmen".<sup>94</sup> Before he arrived in Tasmania, Montgomery replied to G.W.Shoobridge's cautious soundings that "I am indeed cheered by your saying that you have discouraged party Societies. I have never dreamt of joining any such myself. And I have never let my Clergy join any".<sup>95</sup> Even when Shoobridge wanted to teach non-communicating attendance at Communion, a doctrine Montgomery strongly disliked

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91. Mercury, 30 October 1889, Supplement p.1.

92. Church News, November 1889, p.171.

93. Mercury, 30 October 1889, Supplement p.1.

94. MM., Bishop Montgomery, A Memoir, (London, 1933), p.5.

95. Shoobridge MSS, 18 July 1889, Bp/G.W.Shoobridge.

and which was one cause of the friction between him and Dean Dundas which caused the latter's resignation,<sup>96</sup> the Bishop was prepared to subjugate his opinion to the liberty of his clergy, assuming that the teaching of the latter was within "recognized limits". "Certainly my own private views are not to be the full "use" of the Diocese. That would be lamentable indeed... It is only by giving free play in free controversial questions that we can hope to keep put party Societies".<sup>97</sup> Montgomery himself became a moderate High Churchman, which expressed itself in his encouragement of the observation of Saints' Days.<sup>98</sup>

The Bishop continually publicized his determination to allow the widest possible freedom in doctrine and ritual. He told his first Synod that "of all calamities may we be defended from becoming the diocese of one party in the Church, even of my own party, if I have one". If one party in Tasmania became weak, it would be his duty to remedy this.<sup>99</sup> To prevent party strife, Montgomery warned all clergy coming to Tasmania that no party meetings were to be held, but that he would permit

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96. See B.C. 38.

97. Shoobridge MSS, 17 January 1891, Bp/G.W.Shoobridge.

98. Church News, August 1890, p.308.

99. 1890 Year Book, p.76.

any views even if contrary to his own. Although he did not encourage innovations against the wish of parishioners, he would permit parochial variations, and strongly resist any interference from another parish. But he would not allow diocesan innovations until these were familiar and had won general acceptance.<sup>100</sup>

The Cathedral was a problem, for he recognized that its congregation had a right to its particular form of ritual, but he desired to make this acceptable to the Diocese as a whole, "and therefore the more simple in some of its features".<sup>101</sup> In this attempt to achieve toleration and breadth, the Bishop had the loyal support of Church News, which refused to publish extremist views.

On arrival in Tasmania Montgomery found that the Cathedral and most churches had the eastward position, mixed chalice, and a "bright ritual". But there were many churchmen who were "not very enlightened. They are narrow as regards ritual".<sup>102</sup> After he left Tasmania, he summed up his views on Tasmanian ritual by writing that "the colonies are years behind England in their knowledge of ritual...The Colonials are an unimaginative race".<sup>103</sup> But he never told the Colonials

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100. Church News, May 1893, p.852.

101. Church News, May 1894, p.75.

102. B.C.50, 3 December 1889, Bp/J.Trevaskis.

103. H.H.Montgomery, Hints for a Commissary, (London, N.D. ),p.2.

this, and while he nominated High Churchmen for such places as the Cathedral, he also recruited staunch Evangelicals for Low-Church parishes. For, as he commented to Whittington, "nothing would be more fatal" than to destroy refuges such as St. Johns, Launceston or St. Georges, Hobart for "our old fashioned and earnest people who hate ritual & love *Extemporè* prayer".<sup>104</sup>

One of his English friends, and his Commissary in England, Rev. F. D. Cremer, who was so staunchly low-church that he addressed Montgomery as "My dear Man", as he had always hoped Montgomery would refuse to be addressed "by a title which doesn't really belong to you", lamented that Montgomery's elevation to the episcopate was accompanied by an elevation of his views.<sup>105</sup> However, the change in his views was moderate, and did not affect his characteristic tolerance; in 1901, while being abused by the lunatic fringe as a Romanizing Sacerdotalist, he warned the new Rector of Beaconsfield that it was his "very strong opinion" that English people disliked a sung service. This might seem illogical to a musical man, but "in all country Parishes I am wholly on the side of the Prosaic Englishman".<sup>106</sup> Also, Montgomery took little joy in splendour and ceremonial:

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104. B.C. 3, U.

105. B.C. 46, 22 May 1894, F.D.Cremer/Bp.

106. B.C. 35, 22 April 1901, Bp/W.H.Edwardes.

he commented to J. W. Beattie on his inauguration in 1906 as Prelate of St. Michael and St. George that "I never was clad in much warpaint. As I stood before the High Altar in S. Paul's to address Kings, Princes, and potentates in such garments I bethought myself of a bush bishop in a Bluey and how much better the latter garment suited him than the former".<sup>107</sup>

The history of ritual differences before 1899 was one of successful compromise, the Church remembering Montgomery's injunction not to be afraid of enthusiasm in ritual.<sup>108</sup> Some letters were received by Church News opposing parochial innovations,<sup>109</sup> but nothing serious was alleged. In August 1894 it was reported that Ulverstone had accepted a cross for the church: two of the congregation opposed this, but had fallen in with the majority.<sup>110</sup> Rumours were current in 1895 that the Cathedral used incense, but this was wildly fallacious.<sup>111</sup> St. John the Baptist Hobart, through one of the higher churches, did not use its altar candlesticks often because of objections from some of the congregation.<sup>112</sup>

During 1896 Montgomery gave sermons explaining Christian Symbolism to the uneducated churchman. He declared himself in

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107. Beattie MSS, 30 July 1906, Bp/J.W.Beattie.

108. Church News, May 1891, Supplement p.2.

109. For example, Church News, May 1892, p.660.

110. Church News, August 1894, p.135.

111. Church News, September 1895, p.331.

112. Church News, January, 1896, p.404.

favour of decorating the altar with crosses or candlesticks, and of taking the best from the primitive church, but he did not desire any additions in ritual.<sup>113</sup> Whittington, a moderate High Churchman, introduced some new innovations to New Town, including the first three hours service on Good Friday, and a cross on the altar. The latter caused a dispute, some parishioners objecting to the wardens; though these did not dislike the cross, they felt obliged to appeal to Montgomery on the technicality that Whittington had not obtained their official approval. Before the meeting, four ladies went on a deputation to Montgomery and Whittington, but this was countered by a petition signed by eighty-four telling the Bishop of their deepest confidence in the Archdeacon. On the eve of Montgomery's inquiry, two of the Wardens suggested to Whittington that if he admit their right to be consulted, they would consent to the alterations; this was done, and the matter closed.<sup>114</sup> A letter later appeared in the Mercury alleging that the cross was placed on the altar against the wishes of the wardens, who had been defeated by Whittington's machinations.<sup>115</sup>

This mole-hill disguised as a mountain was easily surmounted, and in December 1898, the Bishop could comment on

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113. Church News, March 1896, p.432; see also January 1896, pp.399-400  
September 1896, pp.528-529.

114. Church News, April 1896, p.454.

115. Mercury, 30 April 1896, p.3.

English ritualist controversies that "the questions raised do not immediately concern this Diocese."<sup>116</sup> However, the efforts of Rev. H. C. Wisdom and Thomas de Hoghton, "the unsophisticated Prophet of Winton",<sup>117</sup> soon made this statement ironical. Evangelical extremists would not accept unity without uniformity: when Montgomery and H. C. Wisdom arrived at the "Great White Throne", one of them would be shown to be "fearfully in the wrong".<sup>118</sup>

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116. Church News, December 1898, p.956.

117. Church News, July 1901, p.110.

118. Christian Record, June 1901, p.42.



CHAPTER X.THE EVANGELICAL UPSURGE, 1899-1901.

A leading figure in the disturbances of these years was Captain Thomas de Hoghton, a retired naval officer who had settled at "Winton" in the Brighton Parish. With him, the Church of England was "as by law established" with a vengeance. Lacking in any true understanding of history, he claimed that the revival of traditional Anglican ritual was in fact bringing in "novelties" branded "made in Rome". He did not differentiate between High Church and Ritualist, and described Ritualism as "foul with fraud, deceit, and falsehood, and has been so now since 1835, when Newman first invented it".<sup>1</sup> In any dispute on ritual, his attitude was not the intelligent one of "What does it mean?", but the legalistic one of "is it legal?". He wished to end parties in the church, and create "one undivided Church, one in doctrine, one in practice, and one in spirit".<sup>2</sup> This narrow outlook was, as shown in the previous chapter, the anti-thesis of Montgomery's liberal and tolerant viewpoint. Furthermore, de Hoghton lacked the "saving sense of humour" which Montgomery regarded as so important in such disputes,<sup>3</sup> and insisted strongly on his righteous stance as an infallible oracle and true English gentleman, even when acting as neither.

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1. Christian Record, July 1901, p.50.

2. Church News, November 1899, p.1147.

3. 1900 Year Book, p.56.

With ritualist excesses in England coming under strong Protestant attack in the late 1890's, de Hoghton saw his chance to remove the very moderate ritual current in some Tasmanian parishes. At the 1899 Synod, he moved that Synod affirm "its unswerving allegiance to the principles of the reformation; its attachment to the Protestant Reformed religion as by law established", and its opposition to anything outside the prayer book being used without the Bishop's prior assent.<sup>4</sup> Montgomery disliked such abstract motions, and before Synod met warned de Hoghton that it might be challenged as not in order. The Bishop's view was that though possibly in order, such motions were to be "earnestly deprecated". There was "absolutely no grain of suspicion" of any disloyalty in Tasmania, or of anybody acting without the Bishop's consent. He feared the extension of such motions, and that their ventilation would create the fear that such evils must exist in Tasmania if they were discussed by Synod. "Since we are united here and at peace, I don't want to give cause for derision to enemies, when out here we have no such evils to confess". He hoped his Synod Address would satisfy the Captain.<sup>5</sup>

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4. Mercury, 19 April 1899, p.4.

5. Bp's L.B. pp.155-157, 28 March 1899, Bp/T.deHoghton.

This Synod Address contained three important statements on the ritual question. First, Montgomery himself had never been accused of being a Ritualist, for he had been bred in a school of ritual "simple", almost stern in character". Secondly, none of the alleged excesses in England existed in Tasmania. His third point was an implied snub at de Hoghton: the clergy were entirely loyal, and he hoped nothing would ever be printed in the Synod proceedings "which may even indirectly cast a slur upon their loyalty. When I need the assistance of Synod...to support my authority, I shall promptly ask for it".<sup>6</sup>

Thomas de Hoghton was impervious to such remarks, and in proposing his motion, charged that the apathy of the Bishops caused the crisis in the English church. He concluded by alleging that there were signs of ritualism in Tasmania. The debate that followed was, as Church News remarked in its retrospect, "a good outspoken debate with scarcely any undue heat".<sup>7</sup> Montgomery kept a firm hand on the debate, and added the vital word "alleged" to the final moderate motion: "That in view of the present disturbed state of the Church of England, an account of the alleged introduction of teaching and practices,

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6. 1899 Year Book, p.9

7. Church News, May 1899, p.1043.

contrary to her prescribed formularies, this Synod desires to express its unswerving allegiance to our reformed Church". Also at the Bishop's request, Whittington and later Bucknell withdrew amendments they had proposed. Though some of the laity supported de Hoghton, the feeling of Synod was against him, as the final motion shows. Two laymen attempted to turn Synod's attention to the next question, arguing that the question was academic. The clergy were generally unfavourable to de Hoghton: J. T. Wilson, of low-church sympathies, stressed that Synod had "no right to sit in judgment on the Church in England", and when Whittington rhetorically asked whether there existed "the slightest attempt" at ritualism in Tasmania, his answer came in a shout of "No" and applause. At the conclusion of the debate, Montgomery said that the tone of the discussion "reflected the greatest credit upon them, and he was proud of them all (Applause)". De Hoghton's part in the debate was "as a Christian gentleman in every sense of the word. (Applause)".<sup>8</sup>

Churchman, writing in the June Church News, did not agree, and spoke of Puritans "making fools of themselves" at Synod.<sup>9</sup> This brought angry protests from de Hoghton to the Committee of Management of Church News against anonymous abuse

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8. Mercury, 19 April 1899, p.4.

9. Church News, June 1899, p.106 2.

of his party "for the conscientious discharge of their duties in Synod".<sup>10</sup> The Committee refused to censure the Editor, but Churchman's attack was the signal for an increasing deluge of letters in Church News either claiming or denying that the church was in imminent danger of Romanish subversion. These letters in almost every case referred to the state of the church in England, not Tasmania. Most of the charges were vague, but in July 1899 the Hobart Free Church's Council issued a pamphlet entitled "Ritualism Exposed" by Rev. W. Cunningham, which more precisely listed the evils of ritualism. The ignorance on doctrines such as the Real Presence displayed in this pamphlet was corrected in pitying terms by Church News, but the more extreme Evangelicals were delighted with the support from this sympathetic quarter. Thomas de Hoghton in September was claiming that thousands of English clergy had "bitter hatred" for the Church they served,<sup>11</sup> and in October was rash enough to claim that Transubstantiation was being taught in Tasmania.<sup>12</sup> Whittington at once, in his capacity as Archdeacon, challenged him to prove this;<sup>13</sup> the "proof", as Whittington was quick to

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10. Church News, July 1899, p.1074.

11. Church News, September 1899, p.1111

12. Church News, October 1899, p.1129.

13. Church News, November 1899, p.1148.

point out, merely proved that the Captain misunderstood the doctrine.<sup>14</sup> De Hoghton quibbled over Whittington's explanation, but made the valid point that the portion he had quoted from a Children's Catechism would be taken by them to mean Transubstantiation.<sup>15</sup>

Montgomery watched the increasing bitterness with disapproval, and issued an Advent Pastoral against the petty controversies. He was amazed that anybody could regard English ritual as having any relevance to Tasmania's "quiet and sober doctrine". The clergy had never been more loyal, Tasmania was entirely free of extremes, and agitation only caused "delight among our enemies, and injury to our mission in the world". He would not permit unjust persecution, but would investigate specific complaints of illegality.<sup>16</sup> Church News expected all to sympathize with this plea for toleration, and in response to "a wish which has in it something of the nature of a command", suspended the correspondence on ritual. It felt, however, that Montgomery was taking the matter too seriously, and that some good would have resulted from the correspondence.<sup>17</sup>

In this Advent Pastoral, Montgomery said that he had

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14. Ibid.

15. Church News, December 1899, p.1163.

16. Ibid, pp.1159-1160.

17. Ibid, p.1157.

investigated one complainant's charges, but had found them "so preposterous that it is difficult to see how anyone could have made them".<sup>18</sup> This referred to a complaint made by J. W. Beamish, a Churchwarden in the D'Entrecasteaux parish, against Rev. Charles Vaughan. The "array of Popery" displayed by Vaughan in defiance of the canons of the Church of Ireland consisted of the Eastward Position, the elevation of the Cup, and some intricacies of attire. If Vaughan mended his ways, Beamish promised to increase his subscription to the Stipend Fund from its current ten shillings per annum.<sup>19</sup> As Vaughan wrote to the Bishop, "he is too ludicrous... Fortunately, the people know him, and I don't think he will do much harm".<sup>20</sup> Montgomery gently reproved Beamish,<sup>21</sup> but before this letter was written, Beamish had written to Church News repeating his charges, adding that some clergy were being ritualistic in defiance of the wishes of their people; "and are supported by the Bishop".<sup>22</sup> The News also demolished his arguments, but ignored this first direct attack on Montgomery.<sup>23</sup> However, Beamish was not the type to take any notice of facts: in

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18. Ibid, p.1160.

19. B.C. 20, 30 September 1899, J.W.Beamish/Bp., 13 October 1899, C.Vaughan/Bp.

20. B.C. 20, 13 October 1899, C.Vaughan/Bp.

21. Bp's L.B., p. 231, 19 October 1899, Bp/J.W.Beamish.

22. Church News, November 1899, p.1149.

23. Ibid, p. 1137.

January 1901, he solemnly informed readers of the Christian Record that ritualism was strong in his parish.<sup>24</sup>

The Southern Clerical Society on 12 December 1899 welcomed Rev. H. C. Wisdom to Tasmania, and hoped that his stay would "prove beneficial to himself and those to whom he ministers".<sup>25</sup> Wisdom had come as curate to Canon George Banks Smith at St. George's, Hobart. A disciple of John Kensit, an English low-church man who had found the way of militant Protestantism highly profitable,<sup>26</sup> Wisdom was the epitome of the uncouth religious agitator, lacking in any of the Christian virtues, and consumed with a burning hatred not only of his opponents, but also those who believed in Christian charity and tolerance. Like de Hoghton, he argued that the Church of England must take its guidance from Crown and Parliament alone.<sup>27</sup> Wisdom only received Orders on 21 September 1895, but this gave him no inhibitions against guiding his ecclesiastical elders into the true paths. He came to St. George's partly because he had heard "very bad" reports of Tasmania,<sup>28</sup> and partly through poor health. When Smith wrote to his friend Rev. H.B. Macartney,

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24. Christian Record, January 1901, p.110

25. Church News, January 1900, p.8.

26. Church News, June 1901, pp.95-96.

27. Church News, May 1900, p.76.

28. Tasmanian News, 10 December 1900, p.3.



then in England, in March 1899 asking for a curate for his staunchly Evangelical parish,<sup>29</sup> Macartney decided that Wisdom was the man. He described Wisdom as "a firm Protestant, and one whom God distinctly blesses in the salvation of souls".<sup>30</sup> But two facts were carefully kept secret from Wisdom's new Rector. The first was that Wisdom intended to be a colleague, not a curate, although no such position existed in the Anglican Church. The second was that Wisdom would have a private task of spreading his own views, a task he fully expected would bring sharp differences of opinion with Smith.<sup>31</sup> Macartney warned him not to write anything "warlike" to Smith, but to omit "all that you and I would "not" like the Canon to see".<sup>32</sup> In his letter to Macartney finalizing the arrangements under which he went to Tasmania, Wisdom insisted on freedom of action for the special work that Macartney had set before him.<sup>33</sup>

On his first day in Tasmania, Wisdom clashed with his "colleague" Smith over the taking of baptisms; because of his firm views, Wisdom never took any, to his Rector's annoyance.<sup>34</sup>

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29. B.C. 62, Bp's Commission, 16 March 1899, G.B.Smith/H.B.Macartney.

30. Ibid, 27 July 1899, H.B.Macartney/G.B.Smith.

31. Ibid, 29 July 1899, H.C.Wisdom/H.B.Macartney.

32. Ibid, 1 August 1899, H.B.Macartney/H.C.Wisdom.

33. Ibid, 29 July 1899, H.C.Wisdom/H.B.Macartney.

34. Tasmanian News, 22 March 1901, p.2.

There were many other minor disagreements between the two over the working of the parish, but these were of little importance in comparison with the implementation of Wisdom's secret commission. The first hint of this was his private attack in February 1900 on the New Guinea Mission, when he directly accused Bishop Stone-Wigg of disloyalty to the Anglican Church.<sup>35</sup> The first public demonstration came with his support of de Hoghton at the April 1900 Synod, when a concerted attack was made by the extreme Evangelicals on several aspects of the Tasmanian Church.

The principal bone of contention was auricular confession. The Anglican Church allows the use of voluntary confession, and Montgomery himself heard confessions;<sup>36</sup> but there was no compulsion. When some English ritualist extremists exceeded Anglican limits in its use, Church News wrote that this was "much to be deplored".<sup>37</sup> Thomas de Hoghton's view was less moderately expressed: the confessional, he told the 1899 Synod, was "the vilest thing that the ingenuity of man had ever invented to deceive the people".<sup>38</sup> In November of that year, he proclaimed that the power of a priest to forgive sins was insisted on in Tasmania.<sup>39</sup>

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35. B.C. 62, 15 February 1900, H. C. Wisdom/Bp. New Guinea, and Christian Record, November 1900, pp.93-94.

36. H.H. Montgomery, Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop, (London, ?1905), 1923 preface.

37. Church News, March 1899, p.1010.

38. Mercury, 19 April 1899, p.4.

39. Church News, November 1899, p.1148.

It was no surprise, therefore, that he proposed at the 1900 Synod, "That Synod learns with regret that the practice of seeking to induce Auricular Confession exists in this Diocese, and expresses its decided opinion that such is opposed to the true teaching of the Church of England in this Diocese, and declares such a practice is most reprehensible".<sup>40</sup>

As Whittington pointed out, Synod could not pass anything at variance with the Prayer Book; as this encouraged confession, de Hoghton had to accept the Bishop's suggestion that his motion be amended to read "enforce confession", which was contrary to the Prayer Book.<sup>41</sup> DeHoghton later realized that "enforce" implied more than he intended, and, after his motion was defeated, resigned from Synod to protest against being tricked into using "enforce". However, he had accepted it readily, as he meant a certain element of compulsion;<sup>42</sup> also, though criticized in Synod for being unable to prove that confession was enforced, the basic Evangelical argument was that even to induce confession was un-Anglican, and it was for inducing confession that Dean Kite was attacked.

For this was no abstract motion; as soon as it was in order, de Hoghton charged the Dean with telling confirmation

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40. 1900 Year Book, p.69.

41. Christian Record, May 1900, p.11.

42. Ibid.

candidates that it was their duty to confess to him and that he would absolve them. Kite immediately interjected: 'I must deny most absolutely that I have ever done anything of the kind. (Loud applause)".<sup>43</sup> The evangelicals were not convinced, but henceforth the debate was on more theoretical lines; de Hoghton claimed that others taught confession, but refused to name them.<sup>44</sup> The clergy spoke in favour of confession in special circumstances, while most of the laity remained silent; however, when H.C. Wisdom claimed that the majority of Synod had "expressly repudiated" confession, his remark was greeted with cries of "No".<sup>45</sup> After a lengthy discussion, Samuel Bucknell moved an amendment that if Synod learnt on "unquestionable authority" that confession was enforced, it would oppose it. This was passed by a large majority, even Wisdom supporting it, but before this, Montgomery made a statement on the matter which was loudly applauded. He opposed habitual confession, but favoured it as a strong medicine to be occasionally used; there was no abuse of it in Tasmania. "The Diocese may trust me to take action at once if cases of abuse came to my knowledge". At the conclusion of this statement, he commented that "there is one man I congratulate heartily in this Synod, and that is the Dean (Loud applause)".<sup>46</sup> This

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43. Christian Record, May 1900, p.11.

44. Ibid, p.12.

45. Ibid, Supplement p.10.

46. Ibid, Supplement pp.8-9.

statement was published, at the request of Synod, in the report of Synodical proceedings.

The aftermath of this singular debate was increased fulminations from the Evangelical camp. De Hoghton resigned from Synod because of his alleged mistreatment, though he harboured no personal ill-feeling to Montgomery for suggesting "enforce". Robert C. Kermode also resigned from Synod because of its approval of confession. However, both men re-appeared at the following Synod. Rev. W. Cunningham again decried the Anglican doctrine of confession.<sup>47</sup> The most important result was the reaction of Archdeacon Hales, who had been absent from Synod through failing health. He attacked the Bishop's handling of the debate, and supplanting of "induce" by "enforce".<sup>48</sup> He claimed that de Hoghton was tricked into using "enforce", a manouever which showed a "want of candour and fairness".<sup>49</sup> An official rebuff came from Whittington, who, though Hales' age and long service prevented any comment on his "astounding imputations", enclosed a ruling from the Bishop on whether de Hoghton's motion containing the word "induce" was in order. It was not, Montgomery ruled, for to pass it would narrow legitimate Anglican teaching. He added

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47. Mercury, 12 May 1900, p.6.

48. Christian Record, June 1900, p.23

49. Examiner, 12 May 1900, p.6.

that "enforce" had not been suggested to stop discussion, and the person who chose it had not consulted anyone else; it was therefore "highly reprehensible" to attack him.<sup>50</sup> Hales also gave a sermon at Holy Trinity, Launceston, against confession, claiming it to be both unscriptural and un-Protestant, and enfeebling to the mind of those who practiced it.<sup>51</sup> He received many letters of congratulations because of this sermon.

Wisdom misinterpreted the debate to prove his own points. He regretted that Synod had not denounced confession as illegal, but had tried to minimize the danger and emphasize that the Prayer Book allowed some confession.<sup>52</sup> He called on parents whose children went to confession to indict the priest before the Church Court.<sup>53</sup> By June 1900, Wisdom was announcing that confession was "pressed upon" candidates for confirmation;<sup>54</sup> by November, he informed a Town Hall audience that its use was "habitual" in Hobart.<sup>55</sup> The December Christian Record stated that the Bishop's ruling had gone outside the Prayer Book,<sup>56</sup> a

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50. Examiner, 17 May 1900, p.2.

51. Printed in full, Examiner, 19 May 1900, p.13.

52. Christian Record, May 1900, p.10.

53. Christian Record, May 1900, p.13.

54. Tasmanian News, 29 June 1900, p.3.

55. Christian Record, November 1900, p.84.

56. Christian Record, December 1900, p.108.

blatant example of totally ignoring the Bishop's statement. By September 1901, the Christian Record announced that Montgomery "approved emphatically" unrestricted use of the confessional.<sup>57</sup>

Another motion at the 1900 Synod, from Rev. Arthur Wayn, asked the Bishop to denounce the use of prayers for the dead in Anglican services. This was prompted by the Archbishop of Canterbury's permission for the use of a very moderate prayer of this kind during the Boer War. Montgomery approved of prayers in private devotions commending the dead to God, though he was against anything that hinted at Purgatory.<sup>58</sup> During March 1899, while talking with Thomas de Hoghton, Montgomery said that such prayers could not be offered in church, and de Hoghton charged him with inconsistency when he temporarily changed this ruling.<sup>59</sup> This was a typically unfair suggestion: Montgomery's actual statement in reply to Wayn's motion was that, "permitted as it is by the highest Church authority at home, it is certain that I could not think of forbidding it here. But no clergymen need use it".<sup>60</sup> Wayn was not satisfied, but Smith, his seconder, did not regard

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57. Christian Record, September 1901, p.76.

58. Church News, May 1900, pp.72-73.

59. Christian Record, July 1901, p.50.

60. Church News, May 1900, p.73.

Synod as the proper place to discuss such an abstract question, and advised him to withdraw the motion, which was done.<sup>61</sup>

The Bishop's statement also was published in the report of Synodical proceedings. Some Evangelicals continued to oppose such prayers, but their doyen, Archdeacon Hales, whom they had been so eager to quote in opposition to confession, embarrassingly favoured prayers for the dead.<sup>62</sup>

This Synod also witnessed attempts to influence the selection of books at the Book Depot,<sup>63</sup> and gain some control of Church News,<sup>64</sup> Both attempts failed, owing to Synod's opposition. The effect of the squabbles at Synod was unfortunate for the Church; Evangelical W. J. McWilliams' Tasmanian News devoted a sub-editorial to voicing "the general feeling of regret at the tone of the Synod debates, and the thinly-veiled effort of some very consequential members to usurp the management of the diocese".<sup>65</sup>

Foiled by an unsympathetic Synod, de Hoghton retired to Brighton, where he was a Warden, to continue a private vendetta there against S. H. Hughes, the Rector, whom de Hoghton personally

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61. Christian Record, May 1900, p.13.

62. F. Hales, Sermon preached at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Launceston, on All Saints Day, 1896..., (Launceston 1896), pp.7-8.

63. Christian Record, May 1900, pp.13-14.

64. Ibid, pp.11-12.

65. Tasmanian News, 4 May 1900, p.2.



disliked.<sup>66</sup> This vendetta had begun, shortly before Synod, over the use of candles at the Pontville Church, a twenty-year old custom. On 15 April, de Hoghton removed the candles, as he was under the misapprehension that Hughes at a Wardens' Meeting on 26 January had agreed to discontinue their use. Hughes at once appealed to Montgomery, who ordered that no discussion be held on the matter till after the following Sunday, when candles were to be used; in this way, the slight to Hughes would be repaired. However, the Bishop's suggestion that Hughes refer to the matter in his sermon,<sup>67</sup> caused de Hoghton to rise in church, and proclaim: "I deliberately charge the Rector with the suppression of the truth".<sup>68</sup>

Montgomery, considering that the matter had gone beyond any meeting between Rector and Wardens, appointed a Commission to investigate the situation. This Commission deprecated de Hoghton's action, but felt Hughes was ill-advised to have contacted Montgomery without first consulting the Captain: it felt mutual apologies would end the affair.<sup>69</sup> Hughes at once complied with Montgomery's request that this be done, but de Hoghton delayed, owing to a meeting called to remove him as warden.<sup>70</sup> However,

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66. Christian Record, June 1900, p.22.

67. Bp's L.B. pp 312-313, 17 April 1900, Bp/S.H. Hughes.

68. Mercury, 28 April 1900, p.5.

69. Church News, June 1900, pp.89-90.

70. B.C. 58, 20 May 1900, T.deHoghton/Bp.

he apologized eventually,<sup>71</sup> and because of this, the Bishop did not remove him as requested by the parishioners meeting.<sup>72</sup> But on 27 June, the Wardens refused to implement the Bishop's suggestion that remarks about the dispute be removed from their Minute Book.<sup>73</sup>

The controversy lingered. The Christian Record was vocal in de Hoghton's support, especially after Hughes dismissed his organist for refusing to ensure uniformity of ritual observance in the choir. The Wardens appealed to Montgomery, arguing that they should have been consulted in her dismissal;<sup>74</sup> however, they had never asked previously to be consulted, and Montgomery ruled that Wardens should not have any voice in the appointment or dismissal of an unpaid church worker.<sup>75</sup> He refused a simultaneous demand from the Wardens that Hughes be forced to attend their meetings to discuss finance.<sup>76</sup> Shortly after this rebuttal, de Hoghton and his supporter R. H. Chalmers resigned as Wardens.

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71. B. C. 58, 3 June 1900, T. de Hoghton/S.H.Hughes.

72. Bp's L.B. p.332, June 1900, Bp/S.H.Hughes.

73. B. C. 58, 4 July 1900, R. H. Chalmers/Bp.

74. B. C. 58, 4 October 1900, R. H. Chalmers/Bp.

75. D.L.B. 1899-1903, pp.295-297, 11 October 1900, Bp/Brighton Wardens.

76. Bp's L.B. pp.381-382, 2 November 1900, Bp/Brighton Wardens.

When de Hoghton attempted to stand as the Synod representative for Brighton on 3 January 1901, he was defeated by twenty votes to five. Once more, he asked Montgomery to intervene, and order a fresh poll, but this was refused.<sup>77</sup> De Hoghton was prevented from becoming Cressy's representative through the joint efforts of the Diocesan Secretary and the local rector,<sup>78</sup> but was accepted by Westbury.

While Hughes remained at Brighton, friction was inevitable, and he was replaced by J. H. Corvan in May 1901. In the interim, some of the extremists planned to remove the candles from the Pontville Church; however, at Hughes's last parish meeting, a motion insisting that no change be made was passed by twenty-three votes to three.<sup>79</sup> Though some of his new parishioners spread a rumour that he had been kicked out of Beaconsfield,<sup>80</sup> Corvan's arrival ended the controversy. At his first meeting, he saw the petty maliciousness of Hughes's opponents when de Hoghton tried, unsuccessfully, to divert money for removing a stipend deficiency owing to Hughes to repairing the Rectory.<sup>81</sup>

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77. B.C.58, 13 January 1901, T. de Hoghton/Bp; 19 January 1901, S.H.Hughes/Bp; D.L.B. 1899-1903, pp.370-373, January 1901, Bp/T.deHoghton.

78. D.L.B. 1899-1903, p.360, 12 January 1901, G.H.B./H.C.Bræmmall.

79. Christian Record, June 1901, p.38.

80. Church News, June 1901, p.94.

81. Christian Record, June 1901, p.38.

Henry Wisdom was meanwhile proving that such malevolence as de Hoghton displayed at Brighton could be shown successfully on a Diocesan scale. In the same month as the 1900 Synod, the first issue of his monthly Christian Record appeared. Within two months of its initial publication, it had a circulation of 2,000 copies, and was sold as far afield as Melbourne, Sydney and London. Banks Smith had approved the starting of the paper, but its first issue shocked him by a bitter attack on "disloyal" Bishops.<sup>82</sup> This paper for the promotion of Evangelical Truth described the modest Tasmanian ritual as a deliberate step on the way to the English excesses, and from there to Rome, and accused the Tasmanian clergy in general of disloyalty and Romanizing; however, besides specific attacks on the Bishop, Dean and Archdeacon, it could never give any examples of this. To state something dogmatically was to prove it. The Record urged its readers to accuse ritualists before the Church Courts,<sup>83</sup> but the Evangelicals had the evidence neither to do this nor to define the vague "hundreds" driven from the church by ritualism. To Rev. W. H. Root and nearly all the clergy, it was the "Un-Christian Record".<sup>84</sup>

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82. Tasmanian News, 12 March 1901, p.3.

83. Christian Record, May 1900, p.13.

84. B.C.59, 19 November 1900, W.H.Root/Bp.

Its first issue proclaimed a policy of narrowness and hatred. "We confidently look forward to its being demonstrated at the Day of Judgment beyond all possibility of doubt that the interpretation of all the Evangelical bodies of Christians is the true one". It could not understand those who cried for peace and tolerance when heresies were entering the church.<sup>85</sup> When directly challenged to show that Tasmania was being dragged to Rome, the Record proved this by showing that the expressions "altar", "priest", "Evensong" and "Matins" were used, and attempts made to introduce crosses to the churches.<sup>86</sup> It refrained from printing a rejoinder for Rev. J. S. Babington that Evensong and Matins were not Catholic expressions as Wisdom alleged.<sup>87</sup> No other "proof" offered by the Christian Record for the justification of its policies was any more convincing than the above.

"I have all my life kept away from partisanship and never thought that near the close of my career I should find it necessary to form a party and be troubled with war, when I so eagerly desire peace".<sup>88</sup> So spoke Francis Hales of his last public act, the formation at Holy Trinity, Launceston, on

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85. Church News, April 1900, p.2.

86. Christian Record, September 1900, p.67.

87. Christian Record, January 1901, p.7.

88. Tasmanian News, 21 July 1900.

20 June 1900, of the Church of England Protestant Association. He founded this because of his fears, aroused by the Synod debate on Confession, that the Protestant character of the Church of England was being undermined. These fears were unfounded, but Hales' action illustrates the deep-rooted suspicions amongst Evangelical clergy and the laity in general of anything that appeared Roman in character. His society was to be purely lay in character, Hales refusing to be president owing to his awareness of Montgomery's views on party societies.<sup>89</sup> Although there was initial enthusiasm for the Association, and Mrs. Young planned to open a branch at Devonport,<sup>90</sup> the latter devoted her energies to starving out the local rector instead,<sup>91</sup> and the Launceston group soon expired. This was principally due to the fact that its members realized that Tasmania was not going Rome-wards.

On 13 December 1900, Hobart followed the northern example by forming a Church of England Evangelical Union under the leadership of Thomas de Hoghton. Rev. Arthur Cass was

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89. Ibid.

90. Christian Record, July 1900, p.44.

91. B.C. 58, 10 January 1900, J.K.Wilmer/Bp.

secretary, though he was shortly replaced by Wisdom. It was proposed that the Secretary receive at least £300 per annum,<sup>92</sup> but this was never raised; the original membership of thirteen did not greatly increase, and the Union was defunct within a year. A third organization, a Hobart branch of the Women's Protestant Union, was formed early in 1901; this was undenominational in character, with the wives of three Hobart Dissenting clergy on its committee, besides those of Cass and Wayn.<sup>93</sup> It was hoped to form branches in all important parts of the Diocese, but, instead of this, the Hobart body collapsed.

A more successful body was the Tasmanian Christian Colportage Association, formed in July 1900, to spread books against ritualism. It had a predominance of Nonconformist members.<sup>94</sup> In July 1901, the Christian Record Fund was added to the Association; the former body was formed in January 1901 to provide Wisdom with £300 per annum and travelling expenses. "My duty to others calls upon me to aim at receiving no less a sum";<sup>95</sup> the average Tasmanian clergymen received £150 to £250. However, the response to

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92. Christian Record, December 1900, p.102.

93. Christian Record, March 1901, p.147.

94. Christian Record, September 1900, p.62.

95. Christian Record, January 1901, p.123

the Christian Record Fund was poor, although the Record asked that money withheld from the G.C.F., be given to it.<sup>96</sup> Its amalgamation with the Colportage Association gave the latter more impetus, though after one year its members still did not include some leading evangelicals, including de Hoghton; the excuse was that there had been insufficient time to bring the matter to the notice of many.<sup>97</sup> It welcomed support from all Protestants, and had book depots at Launceston and eight country towns. But it was not the success its promoters wished, only raising £150 of the £300 desired, in spite of publicity to financially support Wisdom in the work he had been "clearly called" to do.<sup>98</sup> Appeals for a horse and buggy to facilitate travelling met no response. With Wisdom's departure, the Association lost its driving force.

A more adventurous result of the 1900 Synod debates was the formation of the "Free Church of England". Its leader was "Principal Anderson", formerly Rev. John Anderson of the Christian Temple, New Town. Its attractions were "No Auricular Confession, no Priestly Absolution, no Prayers for the Dead",<sup>99</sup> but these were not sufficient to draw the masses, and by 1901 it had left the Temperance Hall for a private house on Battery Point, near St. George's.

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96. Christian Record, June 1901, p.33.

97. Christian Record, July 1901, p.55.

98. Christian Record, August 1901, p.60.

99. Tasmanian News, 2 June 1900, p.3.



An example of how the Christian Record's interpretation of events affected the Tasmanian church at all levels was the declaration by the Wardens at Bridgewater, part of the Glenorchy parish, that if a rector was appointed to their parish who approved of confession or prayers for the dead, they would sever their connection from the church and refuse it money. Whittington replied coldly that it was not the business of wardens to pass judgment on the proceedings of Synod.<sup>100</sup> But the attempts of the Christian Record and Wisdom to prevent the One Archdeacon scheme being accepted,<sup>101</sup> and to increase Evangelical membership of Synod were unsuccessful. There was a strong suspicion amongst North West coast clergy that Wisdom was behind a malicious correspondence against ritualists and especially Montgomery conducted in the North West Post from May till October.<sup>102</sup> This was written partly by an Evangelical clergyman, Robert Penty, who shortly afterwards withdrew his vow of obedience till Tasmania had a Bishop "to whom I can render heart loyalty".<sup>103</sup> However, Wisdom's influence could not be proved.

In October, Montgomery received a request from the Wardens at Richmond that a cross placed in the Church without

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100. Correspondence published in Christian Record, March 1901, p.147.

101. See Chapter 2, p.43.

102. B.C. 60, September 1900, J.T, Wilson/Bp.

103. B.C. 60, 27 September 1900, R.Penty/Bp.

their assent be removed. Montgomery held a meeting of parishioners, at which sixteen voted for its removal, and nine for its retention.<sup>104</sup> This type of dispute prompted Church News in November 1900 to publish three articles on Symbolism in Worship. It was hoped thereby to create an "intelligent appreciation and a tolerant acceptance of each others' special weaknesses",<sup>105</sup> but though Finnis and Oberlin-Harris explained the meaning of symbols used by Anglicans, de Hoghton simply attacked all symbols and gave a list of illegal ones.<sup>106</sup>

Extreme Evangelicals were not content merely to snipe at the leading Tasmania ecclesiastics through the pages of the Christian Record; Arthur Cass tried a more direct offensive when he told Whittington's warden, A. C. Stephens, that he should not attend the New Town church because Whittington taught Transubstantiation. The Archdeacon was too strong an opponent for Cass: he demanded and received a grudging apology, under threat of legal action for slander.<sup>107</sup> The Southern Clerical Society on 13 November unanimously voted their appreciation of Whittington's action.<sup>108</sup> Not to be outdone,

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104. Christian Record, December 1900, p.99; Bp's L.B.pp.383-384, 3 November 1900, Bp/Richmond congregation: B.C.21.

105. Church News, November 1900, p.177.

106. Ibid, pp.177-180.

107. Correspondence published in Church News, December 1900, p.195.

108. Church News, December 1900, p.196.

Arthur Wayn, who in May 1900 had ostentatiously severed all connections with New Town,<sup>109</sup> in October charged Whittington with Romanizing by holding an illegal service on All Soul's Day. Whittington replied that he was not acting illegally, merely exercising his right of holding a Communion service when he wished.<sup>110</sup> The Christian Record lamented that the Southern Clerical Society supported Whittington once more, and hinted that he was in fact holding a Mass for the Dead, as such services were in England.<sup>111</sup>

The Christian Record discussed the question of seceding from the Bishop of Tasmania and his detestable enormities in its issue for January 1901. However, it advocated this only as a last resort, advising loyal churchmen to attend Nonconformist churches until "superstition and priestcraft shall be swept away".<sup>112</sup> The following issue warned that to form a separate Church of England immediately would merely hand it over to the Ritualists.<sup>113</sup>

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109. Christian Record, May 1900, p.14.

110. Correspondence published in Christian Record, November 1900, p.88.

111. Christian Record, December 1900, p.98 and pp.101-102.

112. Christian Record, January 1901, p.109.

113. Christian Record, February 1901, p.125.

Wisdom's activities had extended beyond the Christian Record, and organizing party societies. On 28 June 1900, he gave his first address in the Hobart Town Hall, on "The Crisis in the Church of England", to an enthusiastic audience. Before starting on his usual vague accusations and warnings, he proclaimed "I do stand here to introduce strife if it is necessary (Applause)".<sup>114</sup> At the end, he declared that "under God we will not be one of those who do nothing (Loud Applause)".<sup>115</sup>

The Launceston Church of England Protestant Association asked Wisdom to repeat his tirade in that city. All the Launceston rectors immediately protested against this incursion to Montgomery, who approved their stand against outside interference. He told Wisdom of his strong opposition to the lecture, but neither forbade it nor accepted Beresford's suggestion that he declare publicly that Wisdom's intention contravened church custom, and endangered his licence.<sup>116</sup> Wisdom's appeal to Rev. E. G. Barry, an Evangelical who replaced Archdeacon Hales at Trinity, did not receive a sympathetic hearing. Montgomery's principal objection, that it broke the law of brotherhood amongst the clergy, was attacked by Wisdom on the grounds that there was no legal restriction on his lecturing in another

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114. Christian Record, July 1900, p.37.

115. Ibid, p.38.

116. B.C. 60, 29 September 1900, A.R.A.Beresford/Bp.

parish, and that, in England, Evangelicals were always interfering with Ritualist parishes.<sup>117</sup> But he did not hold his lecture until after his dismissal, and vented his annoyance at his defeat by lamenting that after Hales' death, Trinity had lost an opportunity to appoint "a truly earnest and faithful preacher of the Gospel of Life".<sup>118</sup>

Wisdom's activities had brought little pleasure to any except his close supporters. Canon Banks Smith found him an uncooperative assistant, who opposed many of the things Smith approved, and even took services at Queenborough that did not use the Anglican Prayer Book, as it was <sup>not</sup> sufficiently Evangelical.<sup>119</sup> The Canon endured these problems for several months, and admitted to a later Commission that in the interest of peace, "I never complained to Mr. Wisdom about anything".<sup>120</sup> He even gave reluctant permission for the Queenborough prayer meetings, though he later used them as a reason for dismissing Wisdom. By late 1900, Wisdom and Smith were at the breaking point, though Wisdom was unaware of some of the Canon's feelings; he had however expected the worst not only because of doctrinal differences, but also because Smith quarrelled with nearly all his curates.

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117. Christian Record, November 1900, p.85.

118. Christian Record, May 1902, p.10.

119. Tasmanian News, 12 March 1901, p.3; Mercury, 21 March 1901, p.4.

120. Tasmanian News, 12 March 1901, p.3.

If Smith did not tell Wisdom of his complaints, he did tell the Bishop, who on 29 June wrote that if Wisdom was not the help he wanted, and did anything that he disliked, Smith had full power to end this. Montgomery held the Canon responsible, as Rector, for all Wisdom's actions, including by implication as Editor of the Christian Record, but, on the other hand, "I am prepared to support your authority in any way you please".<sup>121</sup> This hint that Wisdom's dismissal would be welcome, of which Smith later denied all knowledge,<sup>122</sup> expressed the view of all the clergy except Wayn and Cass. A more definite suggestion that Wisdom be dismissed came on 25 September, when Montgomery told the Canon that Wisdom was influencing parents to remove their children from Collegiate: "before you take action", he was advised to contact the Church Advocate.<sup>123</sup>

Smith had agreed to consult his Wardens before dismissing a curate, and on 27 October laid before the Wardens of St. George's and St. Stephen's, Sandy Bay, nine charges of neglect of duty on Wisdom's part, besides his proposed Launceston lecture and the policy of the Christian Record. The Wardens were agreed that the nine charges could be

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121. B. C. 62, 29 June 1900, Bp/G.B.Smith.

122. Tasmanian News, 20 March 1901, p.3.

123. B. C. 62, 25 September 1900, Bp/G.B.Smith.

surmounted with ease, and that Wisdom should not lecture in Launceston, but Wisdom refused to change the policy of the Christian Record. Smith, affronted on the major issue, left with his supporters from Sandy Bay.<sup>124</sup> The remaining St. George's Wardens expected Wisdom's dismissal,<sup>125</sup> and this came on 30 October; Montgomery immediately ratified it, as the law required.

Wisdom was expected to appeal, and Montgomery had a Commission organized.<sup>126</sup> However, Wisdom claimed an appeal was impossible, as Montgomery's ratification had prejudged the issue,<sup>127</sup> and instead, capitalized on his martyrdom by addressing a packed Town Hall on 8 November. At this meeting, he ignored Smith's charges of inadequate work, and claimed to have been dismissed by a clerical party. Wisdom was willing to investigate his dismissal "with the St. George's Churchwardens or any other suitable body";<sup>128</sup> he was careful in his choice of wardens, for the Sandy Bay wardens passed a motion approving Smith's action.<sup>129</sup> There was, in fact, no legal appeal from a rector's decision to the wardens.

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124. Tasmanian News, 22 March 1901, p.2.

125. St. George's Minute Book, 1896-1931, p.25.

126. Christian Record, February 1901, p.134,p.138.

127. Christian Record, November 1900, p.92.

128. Ibid, p.82.

129. B.C. 62, 13 November 1900, G.B.Smith/H.C.Wisdom.

A meeting of St. George's parishioners on 1 November sent a deputation asking Smith to withdraw the dismissal, but he refused to see them. A further meeting on 16 November elected a deputation to ask Montgomery for an inquiry. The Bishop, before the deputation saw him, privately asked Smith for the reasons for Wisdom's dismissal, thus disproving Wisdom's contention that he was dismissed on charges manufactured by Montgomery and forced upon Smith. Montgomery's standpoint was: "Are any persons going to force a Curate upon a Rector when the Rector...says that he cannot work with him? The idea is absurd".<sup>130</sup> The deputation wished an inquiry into Smith's charges of unsatisfactory work, but Montgomery was concerned only with the Rector's right to dismiss an unsatisfactory curate; he had seen a statement that Smith had agreed not to dismiss a curate without the wardens' consent,<sup>131</sup> and the Commission was therefore to investigate this and other details of Wisdom's appointment.

Smith, by letter, informed the 16 November meeting that the sole reason for Wisdom's dismissal was his unsatisfactory work.<sup>132</sup> This was denied by all Wisdom's supporters;

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130. Bp's L.B., p.389, 20 November 1900, Bp/G.B.Smith.

131. Christian Record, November 1900, p.92.

132. B.C. 62, 16 November 1900, G.B.Smith/H.C.Kingsmill.



when Thomas Westbrook, an Evangelical but antagonized by Wisdom's performance at Queenborough, wrote to the Mercury denying suggestions that Wisdom was dismissed for his exposure of ritualism, and affirming that it was for inadequate work as Curate.<sup>133</sup> Arthur Cass sprang to the defence of "my friend" against Westbrook's "most unwarranted, unfair, and serious charge".<sup>134</sup> Unfortunately for Cass, Wisdom admitted in the December Christian Record that on arrival, he had realized that "the extra-parochial work imperatively demanded by the unspeakably sad condition of the Diocese" would mean that some parochial work could not be done, and this had in fact happened.<sup>135</sup> The reaction of Wisdom's supporters to Wisdom's acknowledgement of Smith's charges was unusual for people claiming to seek the Truth. At the 16 November meeting, after it had been decided to send a deputation to the Bishop, the chairman read a letter from Wisdom giving a formal acknowledgement of the charges against him; the conveners of the meeting then decided to suppress this statement.<sup>136</sup>

The Bishop's Commission gave its report on 20 December. Besides revealing details of Wisdom's secret mission, and his

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133. Mercury, 9 November 1900, p.3.

134. Mercury, 14 November 1900, p.3.

135. Christian Record, December 1900, p.108.

136. B.C. 62, 17 November 1900, C.V.Hamilton/Bp.

intention to be a colleague, not a curate, the Commission discovered that whereas the St. George's wardens understood that Smith must obtain the approval of the wardens of the parish before he dismissed his curate, Smith and the Sandy Bay Wardens regarded the agreement to demand consultation only. Minutes of the meeting were not kept, so it was impossible to decide what exactly had been decided.<sup>137.</sup>

The Commissioner's Report by a majority decision decided that Smith had agreed to get his warden's consent before he dismissed his curate,<sup>138</sup> but Montgomery rejected this. Even if this had been agreed upon, which was debatable, it was contrary to ecclesiastical law. The basis of agreement between Wisdom and the Canon was the latter's first letter to England, which had made no mention of obtaining the wardens' consent. He ruled, therefore, that Wisdom had the status of an ordinary curate, whose Rector could give notice with the consent of nobody except the Bishop.<sup>139</sup>

Church News thoroughly approved of this Decision; indeed, its comments on the St. George's Wardens had to be softened by Whitington and the Church Advocate before

137. B. C. 62, Bp's Commission, pp.1-7.

138. Ibid, pp.11-13.

139. Ibid, pp. 13-15.

publication for fear of a libel suit.<sup>140</sup> Wisdom, of course, sharply criticized the Decision in the Record,<sup>141</sup> and wrote to the Tasmanian News denying any secret commission from Macartney; "the extracts from the letters which passed have been arranged in such a way that they give colour to such a suggestion".<sup>142</sup> Wisdom's denial was quite false, and Montgomery published all the correspondence in full.

In a reply to the Rev. Reginald Collisson's attack on the attempt of "A Latter Day Daniel" to depose the Bishop,<sup>143</sup> Wisdom declared that his efforts to undermine the work of the Bishop, Dean, and Archdeacon were deliberate, as their influence was "inimical in many fundamental points to the interests of Christ's Kingdom, the salvation of souls, and also to the well-being of our Church".<sup>144</sup> Six days after this was published, Wisdom asked Montgomery for a General Licence at the expiration of his licence as Curate at St. George's!<sup>145</sup> When this was refused, he asked for Montgomery's reasons; these were not given, though Montgomery hoped "that elsewhere suitable work will be found for you".<sup>146</sup>

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140. B. C. 62, 10 January 1901, J.Oberlin-Harris/Bp.

141. Christian Record, January 1901, pp.121-123.

142. Tasmanian News, 29 December 1900, p.2.

143. Tasmanian News, 28 December 1900, p.3.

144. Christian Record, January 1901, p.124.

145. B. C. 62, 22 January 1901, H.C.Wisdom/Bp.

146. Bp's L.B., p.408, 30 January 1901, Bp/H.C.Wisdom.

The St. George's Wardens were not satisfied by the Bishop's Commission, and on 23 January 1901 asked for an investigation of the charges against Wisdom.<sup>147</sup> Montgomery replied that he knew nothing of the charges, though Wisdom could still appeal; "but I cannot help remarking that he might have made the appeal earlier".<sup>148</sup> This was read to the annual meeting of the St. George's parishioners on 29 January, but Wisdom still refused to appeal, and Thomas Westbrook's motion that he do so was lost. Smith, after first refusing to say whether he had charged Wisdom with neglect, then said that he could substantiate such a charge "before any legally constituted tribunal (Sensation)" Motions were passed condemning Wisdom's dismissal, and demanding an inquiry.<sup>149</sup> However, when this request was made to Montgomery, Wisdom's licence had expired, and the Bishop had no jurisdiction over him; an appeal was therefore impossible.<sup>150</sup>

The only course left open to the parishioners was an appeal to Synod, and this was made on 15 February. The movers of the motion stressed that they represented

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147. B. C. 62, 23 January 1901, J.Hamilton & J.E.Park/Bp.

148. Bp's L.B., pp.404-406, 28 January 1901, Bp/St.George's Wardens.

149. Tasmanian News, 30 January 1901, p.2.

150. Bp's L.B., p. 409, 1 February 1901, Bp/St.Goerge's Wardens.

the parishioners, not Wisdom, whose reinstatement they did not desire. They wanted an enquiry into the expediency, not the legality, of Wisdom's dismissal, and, after a lengthy debate, Synod approved this by a majority of four votes out of seventy-four cast.<sup>151</sup> Montgomery, at Synod's request, appointed the Committee of Enquiry.

Before the Committee sat, Wisdom appealed to the Primate against Montgomery's "unconstitutional and unjust" actions.<sup>152</sup> The Archbishop snubbed him,<sup>153</sup> and his Domestic Chaplain commented to Montgomery that "there seems to be no end to Wisdom! I am sorry for all the trouble and annoyance it must cause you".<sup>154</sup> Wisdom therefore had to pin his hopes on the Committee of Enquiry, which, after a fruitless attempt to arrange a private compromise, began its hearings on 12 March.

At these hearings, both Smith and the Parishioners were represented by legal counsel, and Wisdom was given the privileges of a third party in cross-examining witnesses and even delivering a final summing-up. Most of Smith's charges fell down in cross-examination, his case being damaged by his

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151. Christian Record, February 1901, pp.133-134, pp.138-144.

152. B. C. 62, 5 March 1901, H.C.Wisdom/Primate.

153. B. C. 62, 12 March 1901, H.S.Smith/Wisdom.

154. Ibid, H.S.Smith/Bp.

vagueness, and even deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. After attempting to evade the issue, he denied consulting other clergy before dismissing Wisdom.<sup>155</sup> Wisdom's performance under cross-examination was more arrogant and straight-forward. He admitted refusing to obey some of Smith's wishes, either because of "conscientious objections" or the Christian Record. He knew Smith was responsible for comments in the Record, yet deliberately opposed his views in this paper. Because he was not doing the work of previous curates, he told the Wardens that he was willing to resign; however, he did not tell Smith this in case the offer was accepted!<sup>156</sup>

After nearly three weeks of deliberation, the Committee decided that Smith's charges of neglect of parish work were not sufficient cause for dismissal, but that other causes such as the Christian Record accumulated to make dismissal justifiable. There was no reflection on Wisdom's character as a zealous priest, but both he and Smith displayed a want of tact and judgment.<sup>157</sup> Montgomery refused to comment on this Report,<sup>158</sup> and Church

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155. Tasmanian News, 19 March 1901, p. 2.

156. Tasmanian News, 23 March 1901, p.3.

157. Church News, May 1901, pp.24-25.

158. Ibid, p.25.

News refrained, but the Christian Record was loud in denunciations of its bias.<sup>159</sup>

St. George's gradually settled back to normal, but echoes of the controversy continued: Smith objected vigorously in January 1902 to the offertory revenue being used to pay legal expenses on behalf of Wisdom.<sup>160</sup> Montgomery told Smith in August 1901 that he must prepare to resign: "for the good of the Church I see no other point of view." He asked Smith not to be angry: "I have fought your battles if any man has".<sup>161</sup> Wisdom approved of this resignation: after all, St. George's could do much "if only a man after the Lord's own mind be secured".<sup>162</sup> But before the details of his resignation were finalized, Smith died in April 1902.

The 1901 Synod saw other controversies besides Wisdom's dismissal. The Bishop's Address contained an important change in his policy on new clergy, resulting from the painful lessons taught by Wisdom. "Nothing could induce me to permit any alteration" in St. George's status as an Evangelical parish, he declared, but to keep the peace he had to reverse his earlier policy of allowing anybody to come to Tasmania no matter how different their views were from his own.

159. Christian Record, April 1901, p.3.

160. St. George's Minute Book, 1896-1931, p.42, 30 January 1902.

161. Bp's L.B., p.469, 14 August 1901, Bp/G.B. Smith.

162. Christian Record, January 1902, p.113.

"Those were quieter times", and he would no longer admit extremists. "Nor shall any clergyman carry my license, if I can help it, who intrudes himself, unbidden and unwelcome, into his brethren's parishes". But this freedom from interference accompanied his determination to protect congregations from new and unpopular ritual. He concluded his remarks by regretting that party strife brought to the fore "some of the least desirable men, ignorant and reckless", who used the dishonest tactics of flinging imprecise epithets and quoting books out of context.<sup>163</sup> This Address amounted to a statement that he intended to be the Bishop of a party, the Christian Record proclaimed.<sup>164</sup>

The most important motion at the 1901 Synod, proposed by Captain de Hoghton, was that "in the opinion of Synod some of the teaching of the "Sisters of the Church" at the Collegiate School, Hobart, is opposed to the doctrine and practices of the Church of England".<sup>165</sup> This motion arose out of years of apprehension from Evangelicals of the Catholic tendencies of the Sisters. Only after a fierce debate did the 1887 Synod approve the introduction of Sisterhoods, and the immediate result of this decision was the withdrawal of support for the Church from the more intransigent Evangelicals.<sup>166</sup>

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163. 1901 Year Book, pp.25-26.

164. Christian Record, April 1901, p.18.

165. 1901 Year Book, p.37.

166. See B.C. 53, Letters dated 5 May 1887-21 May 1887.



When the Sisters arrived in 1892 at the request of some of the clergy, it was a matter of some importance that the ecclesiastical hierarchy should not appear to control them. They had established their school while Montgomery was in Melanesia, and of his first talk with them, the Sisters recorded the important principles which guided their relationship. "He was most kind, thought we were most wise in commencing work without Diocesan support, it made it so much easier for the Bp: he considered there was a great work before us in Religious education...but advised us to use commonsense & prudence especially in the commencement".<sup>167</sup> In 1889, Montgomery explained more explicitly his policy on the Community. "I must as Bishop stand outside it altogether. You have for years been building your community without very definite Episcopal control", and he wished this to continue. No restrictions were laid upon their style of worship, "but I do not want to know officially what you do as regards the Profession of your Sisters". This left both parties free.<sup>168</sup>

To the general public, the relations of the Sisters to the Church was puzzling, though on the surface it appeared very close. The Bishop was Visitor of the School, it was

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167. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 17 December 1892.

168. Bp's L.B., p.123, 13 January 1899, Bp/Sister May.

publicly commended by the Dean and Whittington, and leading clergy conducted examinations there. Also, when the School was in financial straits, Mrs. Montgomery gave considerable financial help, and the School became virtually diocesan property. Though Montgomery was too wary to be officially in charge of the Sisters, the latter promised publicly that in doctrinal disputes they would abide by his decision, and give him "complete and loyal obedience" in such matters.<sup>169</sup>

April 1899 saw the conversion of Misses Carter and Gray to Roman Catholicism; they had both been teachers at Collegiate. This caused disquiet, expressed at Synod,<sup>170</sup> and rumour had it that the Sisters intended to go the same way. To disprove this, Sister Phyllis and one of her teachers attended the C.M.S. Centenary gathering, as they thought their presence at such an Evangelical gathering would give the direct lie.<sup>171</sup> The Sisters' Journal reported that "several people have made themselves busy in advising parents to remove their children".<sup>172</sup>

Opposition to the school increased in 1900. In July, the Sisters complained of attempts to injure the School.<sup>173</sup>

169. Church News, October 1896, p.540.

170. Mercury, 19 April 1899, p.4.

171. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 15 April 1899.

172. Ibid.

173. The Hobart Higher Grade School Log Book, 1892-1901, 23 July 1900.

As a result, the Sisters spent considerable time visiting to counteract the effect of "a tiresome little Curate of the Kensit type", namely H. C, Wisdom. "We saw one Mother yesterday who had had quite a battle because she would not take her little girl away from us".<sup>174</sup> In September, the Bishop interfered strongly on their behalf, informing Banks Smith that Wisdom had succeeded in withdrawing a child from the School, an action for which Smith was ultimately responsible. He suggested that legal action might be taken.<sup>175</sup> Church News indirectly countered Wisdom's underhand methods by publicizing Collegiate's success, claiming that it had the support of "all good church people".<sup>176</sup> The Bishop at Collegiate's prize-giving in December thanked God for the work of the School.<sup>177</sup>

In the first week of February 1901, de Hoghton informed the Sisters of his motion for Synod. The Bishop, Dean and Archdeacon consulted with the Sisters, and Kite was appointed to answer the motion. "Several nice letters have been received from parents speaking of their disgust - the children are all up in arms - the Sisters take no notice",

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174. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 28 July 1900.

175. B. C. 62, 25 September 1900, Bp/G.B. Smith.

176. Church News, November 1900, p.173.

177. Church News, January, 1901, p.8.

they chronicled.<sup>178</sup> So was ushered in an extremely fiery debate. Montgomery foreshadowed the part he was to play by warning in his Synod Address that Synod was "not a judicial tribunal of theological experts to decide questions of doctrine or ritual". It was not qualified for this, and though it might discuss such matters, it could not vote on them. "I should be sorry if Synod failed to recognize its limitations, and so should make itself ridiculous". His final remark had more than a hint of a command: "no decision... will be recorded" on matters clearly outside Synod's domain.<sup>179</sup>

Immediately after de Hoghton proposed his motion, Rev. Reginald Collisson, whose two girls attended the School, rose to a point of order. As it was a private school, he argued that Synod had no jurisdiction over it; the Chancellor of the Diocese and the Church Advocate, both prominent lawyers, agreed. After all, the latter argued, Synod was not an Inquisition, the Sisters could not reply to criticism there, a vote could not be enforced, and, in any case, a proper tribunal for charges of heresy existed.<sup>180</sup> After this legal opinion, Montgomery ruled that Synod was not competent to deal with doctrine, ritual, or discipline except through its

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178. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 8 February 1901.

179. 1901 Year Book, p.28.

180. Christian Record, February, 1901, p.130.

special tribunal. De Hoghton disputed this ruling "on the ground that it prevents my going forward with this motion (Loud laughter)".<sup>181</sup> The argument advanced by the Evangelicals was that although Synod could not enforce a decision, it could state its opposition to wrong teaching. The opposing argument was that Synod had no jurisdiction over people who were not officers of the church, and that it was not a suitable place to discuss a question which involved the examining of witnesses on oath and rigid theological exactitude.

This debate spread over two days. On the intervening night, the Dean asked Sister Phyllis to write to the Bishop appealing for an enquiry into de Hoghton's charges, thus going over his head.<sup>182</sup> De Hoghton was informed of this by a friend, and next morning told Montgomery that he would prefer to accuse the Sisters face-to-face at such an inquiry than in Synod.<sup>183</sup> In fact, after speaking with the Bishop, he thought of withdrawing his motion, but decided against this because the Bishop's ruling would prevent a further motion he had in readiness.<sup>184</sup> The motion against Montgomery's ruling was lost by nine votes to sixty-six, only laymen voted against the Bishop.<sup>185</sup>

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181. Ibid.

182. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 14 February 1899.

183. Christian Record, April 1901, p.3.

184. Christian Record, February 1901, p.131.

185. Ibid

So strongly did he feel that Synod should not discuss such a motion, Montgomery was prepared to have adjourned Synod and gone to Australia to consult his fellow Bishops if his ruling had been rejected.<sup>186</sup>

Immediately after this overwhelming vindication of his ruling, Montgomery, by leave of Synod, read Sister Phyllis' letter. This letter, greeted with loud applause, said that as the Synod debate was "calculated to seriously injure the school by shaking public confidence in it", they desired an inquiry.<sup>187</sup> The Bishop assented to the request, to de Hoghton's delight, for the latter imagined that he could then accuse the Sisters face to face, "and God defend the right!"<sup>188</sup> W. J. McWilliams' Tasmanian News hoped that de Hoghton would be appointed to the Commission.<sup>189</sup>

However, Montgomery had no intention of making it a sounding-board for de Hoghton, and appointed three clergy of theological expertise: Oberlin-Harris, Bucknell, and E. T. Howell. The first two were the Bishop's Examining Chaplains. Montgomery arranged that all the investigations of the Commission were to be conducted in writing; this would lead

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186. H.H.Montgomery, op cit, p. 16A.

187. Tasmanian News, 15 February 1901, p.3.

188. Christian Record, February 1901, p.132.

189. Tasmanian News, 15 February 1901, p.2.

to exactitude in definition, and prevent de Hoghton cross-examining the Sisters, which Montgomery felt was not the way to treat them.<sup>190</sup> The Report was to be published immediately, without its being first sent to the Bishop.<sup>191</sup>

De Hoghton was not in the least satisfied, as all three Commissioners were of a school of thought he opposed, and he suggested some Evangelical clergy and laity that should be included in the Commission.<sup>192</sup> Certainly the Commission had no doubts of the loyalty of the Sisters' teaching before they started their investigations,<sup>193</sup> but, as Montgomery reminded de Hoghton, the matter had to be decided by the most qualified judges, and these had been appointed. In any case, de Hoghton was quite free to criticize their decision, which would not be ex cathedra.<sup>194</sup> However, de Hoghton desired a public enquiry, with the right personally to cross-examine the Sisters, and refused to give his charges to Montgomery's Commission. Instead, he visited Collegiate to tackle the Sisters in person; they declined to see him while the Bishop's inquiry continued.<sup>195</sup>

190. B.C. 53, 16 February 1901, Bp/J.Oberlin-Harris.

191. B.C. 53, 19 February 1901, Bp/S.Bucknell.

192. B.C. 53, 18 February 1901, T. de Hoghton/Bp.

193. B.C.53, 19 February 1901, J.Oberlin-Harris/S.Bucknell  
21 February 1901, E.T.Howell/S.Bucknell.

194. B.C. 53, 23 February 1901, Bp/T.de Hoghton.

195. B.C. 53, 27 February 1901, Sister Phyllis/S.Bucknell.

Investigations were delayed for a month while Montgomery waited for de Hoghton's charges to be made public, but he finally asked the Commission to investigate the teaching given at Collegiate without de Hoghton's charges before them.<sup>196</sup> They reported that no false doctrine was taught; on the contrary, the teaching was full of warnings against un-Anglican doctrines. It criticized de Hoghton's refusal to formulate his charges,<sup>197</sup> as did the Bishop in his Decision. The latter had read the Report with "genuine pleasure", though "I never expected any other result". He concluded that "I trust that the school will obtain increased support from our people", and that "the Church generally will show gratitude in a practical manner".<sup>198</sup>

This Report was received with mixed feelings. The Sisters regarded it as "most flattering to the Teaching and a great comfort", and reported that "several parents called to express their pleasure at the result also some nice letters were received".<sup>199</sup> Church News was of course delighted with the result.<sup>200</sup> But de Hoghton wrote to the Tasmanian News

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196. B.C. 53, 11 March 1901, Bp/S.Bucknell.

197. Church News, April 1901, pp.57-58.

198. Ibid, p.58.

199. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 25 March 1901.

200. Church News, April 1901, p.55.



that, as the Bishop had approved the Sisters and the Commission, all three would stand or fall together; he would show publicly that he had truth on his side.<sup>201</sup> The Christian Record entirely agreed with this intention to ask the public to adjudicate, for if the Bishop alone did so, it would leave the decision to the "archoffender", who "subverts the Truth of God".<sup>202</sup>

On 11 April, de Hoghton duly delivered his address at the Town Hall. It was necessity which drove him to speak there, he claimed, for the laity were muzzled in Synod; he ignored the fact that the laity had overwhelmingly voted to be "muzzled". He gave full details of his objections to the Commission, then launched into his charges. Unfortunately, he was vague on two important matters; he only surmised that the Church authorities had asked the Sisters to come to Tasmania, and his statement that "it is recommended, I think, by these Sisters, that children of the age of seven shall actually go to confession to a priest",<sup>203</sup> had a distinctly feeble ring. Nor was his logic helped by quoting details of excesses by the Sisters' English equivalents. However, he made his other charges of Romish errors convincing to his

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201. Tasmanian News, 1 April 1901, p.2.

202. Christian Record, March 1901, p.145.

203. Christian Record, April 1901, p.5.

audience, and when he asked at the conclusion whether, "conscious of the purity and justice of my cause", he had played the part of "an honest and true man", he was loudly applauded.<sup>204</sup> Only one sceptic voted against a motion that the charges had been proved.

Bucknell immediately corrected the Captain's statements, and charged him with falsifying the facts;<sup>205</sup> Collisson also criticized his interference.<sup>206</sup> De Hoghton replied that it was his duty to expose false teaching and made sarcastic comments about the Bishop's relations with Collegiate.<sup>207</sup> Church News objected strongly to these jocular remarks about the Bishop; to hold him up to ridicule was "an unpardonable offence", and "we are constrained to beseech the gallant captain to remember his manners". It also explained the composition of the Commission, and pointed out that by criticizing them de Hoghton was claiming to be a better judge of theological capacity than Montgomery. This "may be eminently satisfactory to the Captain, but will scarcely commend itself to an intelligent outside observer". Nor were they of the one party. However, the News admitted the Evangelical charge that Collegiate

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204. Christian Record, April 1901, p.9.

205. Mercury, 15 April 1901, p.5.

206. Mercury, 20 April 1901, p.5.

207. Mercury, 23 April 1901, p.3.

was more than a private school, the support given it by the ecclesiastical dignitaries making it in some sense diocesan.<sup>208</sup>

During May, a writing table was presented to the Sisters by the parents of Collegiate girls in gratitude for their work. Speeches were made in praise of their loyalty.<sup>209</sup> The Christian Record assured its readers that "very little value" was to be placed on this presentation; it was sure a plebiscite of Anglicans in Tasmania would give a verdict against the work of the Sisters. It regretted that some parents were still "so misled by the Romanising clergy as to support this school", and charged the Sisters with desiring the Confessional "in general practice in Tasmanian homes".<sup>210</sup> However, these preposterous fulminations were almost the last, and the School henceforth prospered in peace. When in September Sister Phyllis wrote that "We are all very sad at losing our good Bp",<sup>211</sup> she had good cause, as to Montgomery was due the successful foundation and continuation of Collegiate.

The Bishop's ruling during the Sister's debate that Synod was not competent to discuss ritual, doctrine, or

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208. Church News, May 1901, p.71.

209. Church News, June 1901, p.91.

210. Christian Record, June 1901, p.34.

211. Hobart Centre Journal, 1892-1903, 7 September 1901.

discipline was no attempt to silence discussion. This ruling, made after consulting his leading clergy, was explained to Synod, and he concluded his remarks by suggesting that the final day of Synod could be made

"a Conference of Synod members, at which any question whatsoever might be discussed with perfect freedom - whether on doctrine, ritual, discipline or anything else. For myself I should heartily welcome such an opportunity. And I suggest (it) to you as only one more proof that the last thing the Bishop...wishes or anyone wishes, is to muzzle the laity or to check free discussion at the appropriate time". 212

This was Montgomery's genuine attitude, but the extremists refused to believe him. The Christian Record published a long leading article against the ruling, accusing Montgomery of suppressing freedom of speech. He was also accused of inconsistency for not using this decision in allowing a debate on Wisdom's dismissal from the curacy of St. George's.<sup>213</sup> But this entirely ignored the Bishop's statement in Synod, which the Record published, that Wisdom's dismissal was not a question of discipline.<sup>214</sup> A more blatant piece of dishonesty was the way the Record, accusing the Bishop of tyranny and

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212. B. C. 18, Statement on Bp's Ruling, read 14 February 1901.

213. Christian Record, February 1901, pp.135-136.

214. Ibid, p.138.

attempting to silence the laity, ignored the fact that the Bishop had expressly stated his willingness to spend one valuable Synod day on discussions of the type the evangelicals wished. Yet the Record had reported this statement.

Montgomery's basic stand-point was that one small Diocese could not decide the doctrine of the whole Anglican Communion.<sup>215</sup>

The most amusing debate at the 1901 Synod arose out of yet another of de Hoghton's motions. This asked the Bishop to instruct a clergyman inducted to a parish to read the 39 Articles in every church in his first day there, and then publicly give assent to them. This was the English custom, but he had never been introduced to Tasmania. Archdeacon Hales wrote that these Articles had "no claim to be called essential to a Church's existence",<sup>216</sup> but his fellow Evangelicals based their arguments on them, and the principal need was

for this public recitation. In de Hoghton's words, that many of the laity "did not know that certain of the clergy had assented" to them.<sup>217</sup> The clergy said that they would read the Articles if they thought it would be beneficial, but stressed their somnolent effects. Several of the laity agreed

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215. H.H. Montgomery, op cit., p.15A.

216. F.Hales, Some Thoughts on the Bible, (Melbourne, 1899) p.151.

217. Christian Record, February 1901, p.129.

with this, and it was obvious from the levity of debate that the majority of Synod found the suggestion absurd. Before the vote was taken, Montgomery hinted that he might use his power of veto.<sup>218</sup> The voting showed that the laity were far more divided on the question than the clergy, who voted thirty to fourteen in favour of reading the Articles; the laity voted twenty-six to twenty-one in favour.<sup>219</sup> Montgomery later issued a statement that the reading of the Articles was an infliction on a congregation, and only if it requested them should they be read, along with any unfamiliar part of the Prayer Book.<sup>220</sup> As was to be expected, the humorous aspects of reading the Articles mentioned by the clergy was claimed by the Christian Record to be merely a veneer for attacking the Articles themselves.<sup>221.</sup>

Other Evangelical motions at Synod were equally unsuccessful. Alfred Green moved that the Book Depot be disbanded, for he, with the rest of his party, regarded it to be dangerously biased in its choice of books. However, he withdrew his motion, to applause.<sup>222</sup> Captain de Hoghton

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218. Ibid, p.130.

219. Ibid.

220. Church News, April 1901, p.56.

221. Christian Record, March 1901, p.150.

222. Christian Record, February 1901, p.126.

asked for a Committee to investigate the Bishop's role in Synod, alleging that the Bishop's comments put pressure on the clergy. This motion was lost.<sup>223</sup> In fact, Montgomery spoke very rarely, and, as he told de Hoghton when the latter had approached him privately on the subject in January, "it would be as reasonable to muzzle the Clergy or the Laity in Synod as to muzzle the Bishop".<sup>224</sup> De Hoghton's motion condemning aruicular confession and prayers for the dead was ruled out of order; the Captain therefore gave his proposed address on this subject at the Town Hall on 11 April.

One result of the Christian Record's comment, aroused by the Sister's Commission, that Montgomery subverted the Truth of God,<sup>225</sup> was that the Diocesan Book Depot Committee unanimously decided on 24 May that they could no longer aid and abet such "libellous disloyalty", and banned the sale of the Record at the Depot.<sup>226</sup>

The 1901 Synod had witnessed a great onslaught on the official policy of toleration, but it had failed. The

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223. Ibid, p.133.

224. Bp's L.B., p.407, 30 January 1901, Bp/T.deHoghton.

225. Christian Record, March 1901, p.145.

226. Church News, June 1901, p.93, and Christian Record, July 1901, p.55.

Sisters had been triumphantly exonerated, Wisdom's dismissal was shown to be reasonable if unusual, and Synod overwhelmingly supported the Bishop's stand against making it a party arena and Inquisition. From mid-1901 onwards, the Evangelical movement slowly subsided. While it still lasted, its organizers could boast of giving the Bishop a permanent feeling of anxiety.<sup>227</sup> In spite of loud claims that they had the support of the vast majority of the laity, the laity in Synod were strongly against rabid Evangelism, and the laity in general did not give the financial support so confidently expected. A gift of £115 from St. George's in August 1901 was the last Wisdom received.<sup>228</sup>

Church News helped the puncturing of the Evangelical balloon by beginning a series of educational articles in May 1901 explaining Anglican doctrine on controversial topics. The increasingly bitter tone of the Christian Record, particularly at the time of Montgomery's vacation of the See, indicated the chagrin felt by its Editor at this failure. The Record contrasted Montgomery's performance unfavourably with Wisdom's "temperate, well-considered actions and language".<sup>229</sup>

227. Church News, March 1901, p.48.

228. Christian Record, August 1901, pp.58-59.

229. Christian Record, September 1901, p.70.



It produced the extraordinary charge that Montgomery made an "arrogant claim to almost unbounded veneration and authority".<sup>230</sup> Even a non-Christian protested in the press against such spiteful comments.<sup>231</sup> In reply to this letter, the Christian Record claimed to strive always "when it is consistent with honesty and commonsense to make excuses" for the Ritualists.<sup>232</sup> However, loyalty to a Ritualistic Bishop was "disloyalty to our Lord and Saviour".<sup>233</sup>

Wisdom made one last attempt to rally support for his cause. During March and April 1901, he began giving lectures in country districts, arousing disputes amongst Anglicans and delight amongst Nonconformists. Early in 1902, a series of country addresses were arranged with Canon Berry of the Melbourne Diocese. Wisdom confined his work to the "ritualist" parishes, intruding without the approval of the local priest. The Bishop of Melbourne sympathized with the opposition to Berry's lectures, but refused to inhibit him;<sup>234</sup> Whittington, Administrator till Bishop Mercer replaced

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230. Christian Record, February 1902, p.132.

231. Mercury, 26 August 1901, p.3.

232. Christian Record, September 1901, p.73.

233. Christian Record, December 1901, p.102.

234. Church News, May 1902, p.80.

Montgomery, had no power to interfere.<sup>235</sup> Opposition to the lectures was general, Banks Smith refusing permission for Canon Berry to preach at St. George's;<sup>236</sup> even the secular press gave reports antagonistic to Wisdom's crusade. The latter hinted darkly that this was due to pressure, or brain-washed journalists.<sup>237</sup>

The May 1902 issue of the Christian Record carried details of Wisdom's return to England. This was to be only temporary, while he collected books and sympathy, as well as one or two "earnest Christian men" for the Colportage Association. He hoped to return in six months, during which time the work would be carried on by others.<sup>238</sup> Wisdom left with no Letters Testimonial. A priest entering a new Diocese was required to bring such Letters signed by three Incumbents of his old Diocese, affirming that their bearer had never violated the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England. Although Wisdom publicly announced that he would send his letters to any priest willing to sign them,<sup>239</sup> not one priest

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235. Bp's L.B., p.490, 3 March 1902, F.T.Whittington/A.J.Greenwood.

236. Bp's L.B. p.491, 3 March 1902, G.B.Smith/F.T.Whittington.

237. Christian Record, May 1902, p.9.

238. Christian Record, May 1902, p.16.

239. Christian Record, August 1901, pp.65-66.

in Tasmania would oblige. Arthur Cass, his only clerical supporter after Wayn's death in September 1901, could not sign them, as he was not an Incumbent. He had earlier claimed that the Bishop's influence prevented the signing of his Letters,<sup>240</sup> and that the clergy would sign them if he left Tasmania,<sup>241</sup> but both charges were proved incorrect. In fact, some of Wisdom's supporters tried to encourage Evangelical clergy to sign Wisdom's Letters by telling them, incorrectly, that Montgomery wished them signed.<sup>242</sup> St. George's efforts to have the Letters signed were unsuccessful.<sup>243</sup> Wisdom tried to get the reason for this refusal to sign his Letters from some of the leading clergy; Bucknell obliged, Whittington refused, and Finnis' only comment was that "I have not been asked to sign your Letters".<sup>244</sup>

Wisdom never returned, and the Christian Record, after its June issue gave a final vitriolic assault on Montgomery and the Tasmanian Church in all its aspects, never

240. Christian Record, April 1901, p.2.

241. Christian Record, September 1901, p.70.

242. Bp's L.B. p.413, 11 March 1901, Bp/Hore.

243. St. George's Minute Book, 1896-1931, p.36, 17 May 1901.  
and p.37, 31 May 1901.

244. Church News, July 1902, p.106.

appeared again. Its final word on the Church of England was that the real cause of all the trouble was that "unconverted Bishops naturally have made no effort to save us from an unconverted Ministry".<sup>245</sup>

On landing in England, Montgomery was asked if there had been any ritual troubles in Australia; he replied that "there had been none of any consequence". Wisdom, feeling slighted, wrote that "when the Bishop's sense of what constitutes a truthful, straightforward representation of facts had become so warped by Ritualism, the moral condition of the diocese can no longer be wondered at".<sup>246</sup> However, in reality the Evangelical upsurge was a passing phase, conducted by a few fanatics afraid of events in England. These fanatics had at least the virtue of consistency; Thomas de Hoghton in 1918, fulminating against the clergy supplanting the Church of England with "a bastard pro-Roman Church, founded on guile and hypocrisy", proudly boasted that "I remain in Church matters, as I was when a boy, and the Church of England has gone away from me... It is not I that have altered".<sup>247</sup>

But for all the intolerance of de Hoghton and his friends, and their occasional absurdity, they had managed while

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245. Christian Record, June 1902, p.26.

246. Christian Record, May 1902, p.12.

247. T. de Hoghton, Is all Well with the Church of England? (Hobart 1918), p.2.

at the height of their influence to exploit successfully the general public's fear of Popery. This did not disrupt the general work of the church, but it did bring unfavourable publicity to the leading ecclesiastics, and doubts to many ordinary churchmen. However, the very excesses of Wisdom, and his immorality of disputation, meant that general support was lost, and the upsurge subsided, leaving an occasional voice, such as Thomas de Houghton's, crying in the wilderness. The events of 1899 to 1901, like those of the 1850's, did not reflect favourably on the Evangelicals; "in the matter of lying for party purposes ultra-Protestant Jesuits cd. give points to the Roman Jesuits",<sup>248</sup> Bishop Webber wrote to Montgomery, who must have agreed wholeheartedly.

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248. B.C. 54, 12 November 1900, Bp. Brisbane/Bp.

CONCLUSION

The Church of England disapproved of the tone of Australian society. Montgomery lamented "the easy-going toleration of Christianity of our people, while their lives represented a revived epicureanism,"<sup>1</sup> and Church News attacked the Australian attitude that "we are not as black as other people; in fact, in comparison to some we are almost white".<sup>2</sup> The outback atrophied Australians' religious instincts: "governed by a society standard, constant readers of the Bulletin, making, doubtless, respectable, law-abiding citizens", they were really "respectable pagans".<sup>3</sup> This was a perceptive diagnosis of the incompatibility between traditional Australian attitudes and Christianity. The final significance of Montgomery's episcopate was that it failed to transform Tasmanian society closer to the Christian ideal.

If ever an Anglican Bishop were to achieve such a transformation, Montgomery was the man. He was one of the best Bishops Australia has ever had, his outstanding feature being his never-failing enthusiasm. This covered nearly all aspects of church work, his only major blind spot being Christian Socialism. He approved of the educational work of the Christian Social Union, but his

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1. Church News, December 1896, p.579.

2. Church News, December 1893, p.975

3. Church News, March 1895, p.243

upbringing and theory of church-state relations meant that the radical Christianity of Archibald Turnbull was taboo. In all other fields, he was foremost with new ideas, and the driving force behind endeavours both religious and secular. History, in its widest sense, had taught him tolerance of all but the immoral, and it was ironical that the conclusion of his episcopate was marred by warring Evangelical extremists, who gave the public the impression that Montgomery's tolerance was really a blind to conceal the most fearful of party treasons. A deeply spiritual man, he was the antithesis of the traditional lukewarm Anglican. This brought him respect from all sections of society, including those most opposed to his viewpoint, but this respect did not mean that society was greatly influenced by his views. Even amongst Anglican laity, though there was sincere support for the Church from all classes, there was only a very limited number of active laity.

All Montgomery's enthusiasm failed to change the ethos of the society the Church so strongly deplored. The nature of the half-castes on Cape Barren Island frustrated Montgomery's greatest endeavours there, and though in the rest of the Diocese this hostility was replaced by apathy, the effect was the same. In education and other social

but non-political matters, the church made strong efforts to advance the conditions of its people, and, in some matters, the community at large, but most efforts were short-lived. Anglican schools were not supported for their religious attributes, and few Anglicans were interested in social reform, either through fear of its consequences, or dislike of the immoral.. The clergy rebuked the State over its prisons and help to the aged poor, but would take no positive action against it; if they had, few of the laity would have supported them, as the introduction of Tattersalls proved. And the only attempt to put into practice "the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man" led to Archibald Turnbull's ostracism and eventual expulsion by the Church whose gentlemanly conservatism he had flouted. It is impossible to estimate the inward and spiritual benefits conferred by Montgomery and his clergy, but in more tangible fields the only lasting progress was in the safe field of church erection and purely parochial expansion. Even in activities which did not directly affect society in general, such as church organization in Tasmania and Australia, and the extension of missionary activity, all the enthusiasm Montgomery could muster had little effect. The lethargy



or petty differences in the Australian church prevented the acceptance of his attempts at an efficient and decisive leadership and organization, while even in the restricted field of Tasmania, new organization was often greeted with suspicion, and not used to its best advantage. Support for missions under Tasmania's most missionary-minded Bishop was ludicrously minute. In the intellectual scene, the attempts to encourage Tasmanians to understand new currents in theological thought had almost negligible results.

What was the reason for this catalogue of failures and semi-failures? The ultimate reasons lie far beyond the scope of this study of twelve years in a tiny community, but some specific factors are obvious. Most important of all, the Church was in many ways out of touch with the common man. The ordinary Australians' view of the Church of England was unflattering: he noted particularly its attempt to act as the Established Church, with all that this entailed. A church with such an emphasis on "good form" and propriety could not hope to inspire the ordinary Australian of the day; men of independence often preferred the ungentlemanly Nonconformists, who displayed the enthusiasm the average Anglican deplored. In the placid, class-conscious Tasmanian society, the Anglican Church identified itself with the middle

and upper classes. The workers acknowledged the Church's reclamation work amongst women, and more general social alleviation as at the St. John's, Launceston, Mission House, but basically regarded it as a reactionary body interested only in the alleviation of social evils, and opposed to social changes that might permanently improve their conditions. To the upper-classes, it was the "proper" church to attend, while the average middle-class member regarded it as one that did not expect too much from its nominal adherents, and discouraged left-wing tendencies.

The final verdict on Montgomery's episcopate must therefore be rather mixed. His abilities guaranteed success in certain fields, notably general parochial development and church-building. In all fields there was some advance, most of it traceable to Montgomery, but it was never as great as he desired. His zeal had given the Tasmanian church the greatest impetus it has ever had, or is ever likely to have, but the impetus soon flagged. The efforts of Montgomery, the majority of his clergy, and a small but devoted group of laity, were almost heroic in scope, and that in the broad analysis they failed is no reflection upon them. No man, whatever his ability, can transcend his material,

and Montgomery had to contend with the negative approach fundamental to the thinking of the ordinary Anglican. Montgomery's ambition was to advance the work of the church in all directions, and to make it more meaningful to his generation: within the Anglican fold, he had much temporary and some lasting effect, but little in the broader field of the church in the general Tasmanian scene. Montgomery challenged the Australian way of life, and was defeated.

APPENDIX IINSTRUCTIONS TO ARCHDEACON WHITTINGTON  
ADMINISTRATOR, 1897.

AVOCA: The Parsonage is a perplexity - Avoca is dead.

Hurburgh ought to do better here than at Port Cygnet - a fresh start.

BURNIE: Fielding ought to go home & give up the Colonies. But I shall never recommend this. I hope it may come from himself. He has I believe been trying for an exchange in that direction. He has advertised, I think, at home, though he is not aware that I know it. He is a high minded & devoted man, but cannot adapt himself. His wife is a hindrance, being childish & pretty. At present this important Parish is standing still & dissent is advancing. Whilst Fielding is at Burnie I am not very keen to put a Curate at Wynyard. I don't believe in putting a man under Fielding. If he obeyed Fielding's directions he would fail. I would rather make Wynyard a Mission district temporarily till the right head could be found for Burnie. I can see no place to which I should care to send Fielding.

BOTHWELL: Webster is discontented because he only gets 15£ for Lake Country, I think he is unreasonable. He keeps no more horses for this. It is a summer trip two or three times a year. The money is a pure extra. Webster will do well. The sheep runs are doing

BOTHWELL: really well: and they really need no priest at  
(Cont.) all at Bothwell. There is no opposition.

BRIGHTON: I have long wished to move Wilmer - but he likes being near Hobart, has some private means, & is doing well. I offered him d'Entrecasteaux & he refused. I would offer him Longford if it were vacant.

BUCKLAND: No change is needed here.

CIRCULAR  
HEAD: contains our most unspiritual Clergyman. He does not pretend to live in his work. He does it & that is all. I have tried hard to get a church put up at Dallas' house or near it. Mrs. Penty is an angel and does all the work. I can think of no post for Penty. He has not the root of the matter in him - yet he takes people in by his fluent speech. I am sorry for Circular Head. I should be glad to hear that P. had come into money & had become a farmer. I stopped P. once from giving up Orders & taking to lecturing: for he has an overwhelming sense of his own importance. He would have starved in a month. For his wife's sake I saved him. I have written him some very stiff letters. He bears me no malice!

CLARENCE: Hall has no physical force - I think he will stay on for a time & then go home some day. We shall

CLARENCE: not miss him. The next man ought to be a good one -  
 (Cont.) It is sure to grow in importance: If Sharland were to get there somehow - I should groan.

CULLENSWOOD: I think this must remain a small & easy Parish. We want a few such: a delightful Parish. L'Oste will ask for 12 months' leave. Give him 12 years leave! Appoint if possible the right man, so that he may stay on. It is their turn for a good man - If we capture S.Mary's, we kill Wesleyanism on the whole of the East of the Diocese. <sup>It is</sup> / L'Oste who has fostered Dissent & injured all sorts of other places.

CRESSY: Were Norman to die or to retire, no effort should be spared to get a young man to fill his place. There is crying need in the Lake River district for a generous hearted man to influence the great number of Sheepowners who are living in a sort of paganism some 8 or nine miles from each other, seldom attending worship. And no one visits them. Cressy gets 25£ from Toosey's Estate & there is a farm of 100 acres & a house. There ought at once to be a reduction say to 75£ or less - possibly to 60£. Whether it should be a Mission District under me or a Curacy under Longford is a question. As long as Edwards is at Longford I do not favour attachment to Longford: Afterwards I do.

CAMPBELLTOWN: It is terrible that here again the Sheepowners are quite out of touch with the Clergyman who is almost useless. Between him & Norman one despairs. We must make the recovery of all these families a very strong point. McDowell wants to exchange with someone in England. If we could get a good man in his place it would be a godsend. Of course I could see to the Englishman if one were proposed.

CARRICK: Christie is too "canny". The farmers & Parishioners all know this & note that Christie can take care of No 1. It does not help him. Dumaresq feels it sorely. There is an absence of the pure flame in C. At present I am disappointed: I do not feel inclined to do anything more for him

DELORAINÉ: Tarleton is a jewel - He needs all the help he can get. I am anxious about his health. He must not be suffered to break down.

D'ENTRECASTEAUX: There is a great future for this Parish. I believe it may become one of our best and happiest Parishes. It has had little chance under Hurburgh, who never ought to have gone there. Wesleyans have increased mightily in consequence. It ought to be pressed on the Rector here to take strong possession of Esperance & Southport. They are almost in our

D'ENTRECASTEAUX: (Cont.)

hands.

Whether Pepperment Bay ought to be in Kingston or d'Entrecasteaux I do not know - I am ready to try both in turn. It ought now to be occupied strongly. It is a fight between us & Wesleyans.

We shall win!

DORSET NORTH: There is nothing to do here. If Burnie were vacant, I think Wilson ought to be offered it, & I think he ought to take it.

DORSET SOUTH: S. Leonard's is a wretched place. Dead, pampered, ruled by a few half Churchmen. Don't listen to their complaints. Encourage Roche to make all he can of the Scottsdale line.

DEVONPORT: This promises to be one of our best Parishes - If there were a change it ought to be filled by one of our very best men. Hughes is good, devoted, earnest - but he is not a statesman, somehow not a big enough man - though I cannot understand why it is that he does not rise higher. He has also had advantages - Beresford is his brother in law. Jacson has taken a Mission in his Parish. The latter found want of grip in his work - He cannot cover all the ground. He has been told all this & offers of help have been given in the way of advice - But he has not yet risen to it. (The following is a later addition. PRH).



DEVONPORT (Cont.)

I think during the last months Hughes has developed - A Parsonage much needed - I had hoped it would be on the West Devonport side. But we have ground on one side and none on the other.

EVANDALE: Atkinson has lost all vitality. He makes the third Clergyman who has to do with our sheep owners & does not influence them at all. Evandale, Campbelltown & Cressy are all failures & the problem is of vital importance. In case of a change at Evandale the attempt to give Lymington a young Clergyman to itself is to be resisted. It would ruin the Clergyman - there is not enough for a man to do there. Of course if an old man could be shunted to Lymington in order to save Evandale I should be delighted. Then Evandale, Perth & Breadalbane would be a grand Parish. It ought to come, some day, making Lymington an old man's resting place.

ESPERANCE: Worthy of all support. They pay well to stipend through Clennett: and the Clergyman at Port Cygnet ought to be urged to look after this and Southport.

FRANKLIN This ought to be work for St. Paul's. But  
VILLAGE:  
Barkway of course cannot do it. There is no course except for S. John's to hold on to it. They pay something. If Beresford says he cannot attend to it, tell him that in that case it must go to Dissent. I don't think he will let that happen. The same with Breadalbane.

GLENORCHY: ought to be a Curacy to Newtown. Then Bridge-water would go to the next Parish. May Martin go home some day!

HUON: Things are all right here -

HOBART: S. John's I am always expecting Finnis to break down: I wish we could find him a Curate. Were he to go to some other Parish the best man for S. John's is de Coetolgon - I don't way it is possible to give him it - But that is the best step. de C. is a coming man. I am troubled about Howell. He is so stiff that I fear he may become a failure - He does not attract much. He ought to go to England. I shall sound the Bishop of Bath & Wells.

HOBART - CATHEDRAL : Hopcraft. I have promised him a sphere of his own at the end of the year. He is a good man & will develop if he has hard work to do - He would do well anywhere. If you can put him into a vacant place as the year ends I shall be glad.

Howell: You know him well. I am beginning to be disappointed. He empties the Cathedral - When he preaches twice the Offertory falls about 2.10.0 ! I respect him & never knew a more devoted man but where is a man of 65 to go?

HAGLEY: I trust there may be no change here. If there is, it ought to be some worthy man - But I suppose Sharland would have to be sent there -

HAMILTON: I cannot believe that Vale will get through the winter: We must prepare to send some one else there. Not Wilmer I think. His wife comes from there & is not liked I fancy. I can think of no one now in the Diocese. Dicker has given them an awful time through his want of tact!. Remember there is no Dissent: the man who goes there must not breed divisions. The Wesleyans are yearning to come to Hamilton.

KEMPTON: is dead - Let it remain as it is - There is no visible hope of resuscitation.

KINGSTON: Mr. & Mrs. Geiss (esp. the latter) are trying to make Kingston what would really be a "Plymouth" strong hold. It must be strongly resisted. The people are becoming at last able to support a Clergyman. Mrs. Geiss has written to me begging me to appoint Cass! Of course she wants to boss the situation. We must have a strong Churchman here & one who can manage Mrs. G. It is most unfortunate that we should have Pollard & Geiss in such a place - Both are impossible. I have reason to hope Pollard may go to Sydney.

LILYDALE: This is Roche's best work. The people are most loyal. And S. Leonard's must on no account be permitted to check it.

LONGFORD: I am in despair about Edwards. He has a large family, cannot take small places, is doing very badly & I do not see my way out of it. He is not fit to take a town Parish, hankers after S. John's Hobart, would at once apply for Barkway's Parish if it were vacant. But a young vigorous man must be sent to S. Paul's - It is too important a matter to consider anything but S. Paul's itself. The worst of it is that my fair fame has suffered at Longford. I appointed Edwards & I can never hope to have the gift of that Living again. Edwards does not realise the blow he has given me. An exchange to another Diocese ought to be favoured - and yet - it is hard on our Clergy here to lose one of our best endowed Parishes. Mrs. Edwards would ruin any Parish.

LATROBE: Another one of our failures. The Church is weak & mixed up with Dissent - no distinctive teaching. Sunday School good - Hogg means well, has had great sorrows - He is I think a little "wanting". I have puzzled my brains how to exchange him with some other Parish priest. His bane is mining. He does not know I am aware of this - He has been in debt for years & I believe he is still dabbling. But he will not own to it. I have taxed him. Without question Sheffield & Latrobe ought to be worked by a Rector & Curate. The grant to Sheffield must

LATROBE (cont.)

be reduced. But it ought to be done slowly - Next time 120£. If a change comes at Latrobe, the new Clergyman ought to be told that Sassafras must not be neglected. Hogg has given it up to the enemy.

Hogg has some most inefficient sons - his wife is at New Norfolk - most sad.

MONTGOMERY: You all know about this one. One must have young men here at present. Copeland must be the head. There is too much tramping to be done to suit married men in years. Copeland will probably go to England next year for 12 months. Then the whole problem will be reopened.

MACQUARIE PLAINS: Nothing to be done here. I have inducted Dodson.

NEW NORFOLK: Church terribly empty - as empty, perhaps more so than in Murray's days. - From a Pastoral point of view Harris disappoints terribly - failed at Zeehan - failed at Xt's College - failed at Scottsdale - Not a good record - yet a first rate fellow.

NEWTOWN: !

OATLANDS: All well here. It shows what a change can do for a man. One need never despair.

PERTH: There will be some fuss here - But I think Edwards ought to do the work (only 3 miles off) for what they give him. It is a Baptist strong hold.

RICHMOND: I am always afraid of Hugill breaking down - He is a real good fellow, but too old to change now. I trust he may get on.

SWANSEA: A good man here - I hope he will remain.

ST. HELEN'S: The good work done by Jacson can hardly keep up under Charles L'Oste: But he will do what he can. It is a poor district.

SORELL: You know about this place - The Vicar a very weak person - one of our failures. We can give him nothing else.

SHEFFIELD: should certainly be a Curacy to Latrobe. But it has been so badly treated in the past that it should be treated with generosity. I think 120£ should be given it. We must not relax our hold on what must be a magnificent agricultural centre. Under Shelley it has gone back woefully. The Upper Wilmot ought to be added to this district, with strict injunctions to look after this new district.

S. LEONARDS: I hope there will be no change here. Roche is doing well - well at S. Leonard's as well as up the Line in spite of what Kelly sometimes says. Kelly would like to swallow S. Leonard's & live at the Parsonage there. I fear this must be resisted & I have told him so. When Fawns comes out again there will be possibilities. The natural end of St. Leonard's is to be joined to Trinity Parish in days to come, with a Curate of course. Roche's work up the Scotsdale Line is quite excellent. They pay him some 60£ I believe for one week's

S. LEONARD'S (cont.)

work in the month. S. Leonard's itself is an effete place & is jealous of the work up the line. Let them alone & disregard their talk. I have told them lately that they ought to be ashamed of themselves.

SOUTHPORT: The mills here are opened again. We have never done anything here. The Clergyman from Port Cygnet ought at once to go there by Steamer & do what he can.

SCOTTS DALE: Wyatt ought to have every encouragement. He is doing well.

TASMAN'S We have lost this place. It was always difficult.  
PENINSULA:

Since we have withdrawn Pointon nothing has really been done - Cockerill could not do much - He has 25£ a year from Ripon Fund for horse feed. The people are Plymouths, & Congregationalists etc. Woollnough is no use at all & never will be. It is a sad story.

TAMAR: You know all about Corvan.

ULVERSTONE: Beresford is our best Parish priest. I would do anything for him - There are only two Parishes not open to him. S. John's Launceston, and S. George's Hobart - These must be kept on so called Evangelical lines - Nothing would be more fatal than to destroy in our cities refuges such as these for many of our old fashioned and earnest people who hate ritual & love extempore prayer.

I should like Beresford to go (best) to Holy

ULVERSTONE (Cont.)

Trinity, Launceston - After that to S. Paul's Launceston -  
 (Since writing the above, I have after all sent Beresford to S. John's!)

WESTBURY: Another of our failures. Sharland is worked out yet craves after a town Parish! - Longs for Bellerive. In case he applies for any such post it is imperative in the interest of the Church to put before him the work necessary in that post - number of services on Sunday - outlying work etc. - Sharland says he cannot take more than 2 Services on Sunday & actually is seen by his people going home on Sunday evenings whilst his people go to Evening Service in the Parish Church by a lay reader. Sharland could not do the work at Rokeby Parish. We must not ruin a rising suburb of Hobart. Sharland has also great ideas of good Society & good education. His wife has still greater ideas & is a pessimist in Church affairs. I cannot see my way here in the future for Sharland. As to Westbury itself there are two alternatives. In itself it is dead - It must either be thrown into Hagley or it might become a Curacy attached to Deloraine. I do not like to change things at Hagley as long as Lady Dry lives - it seems hardly loyal - yet I shall be ready to see Lady Dry on the subject & probably shall do so - If Westbury fell to Hagley, the Westbury Grant should certainly go

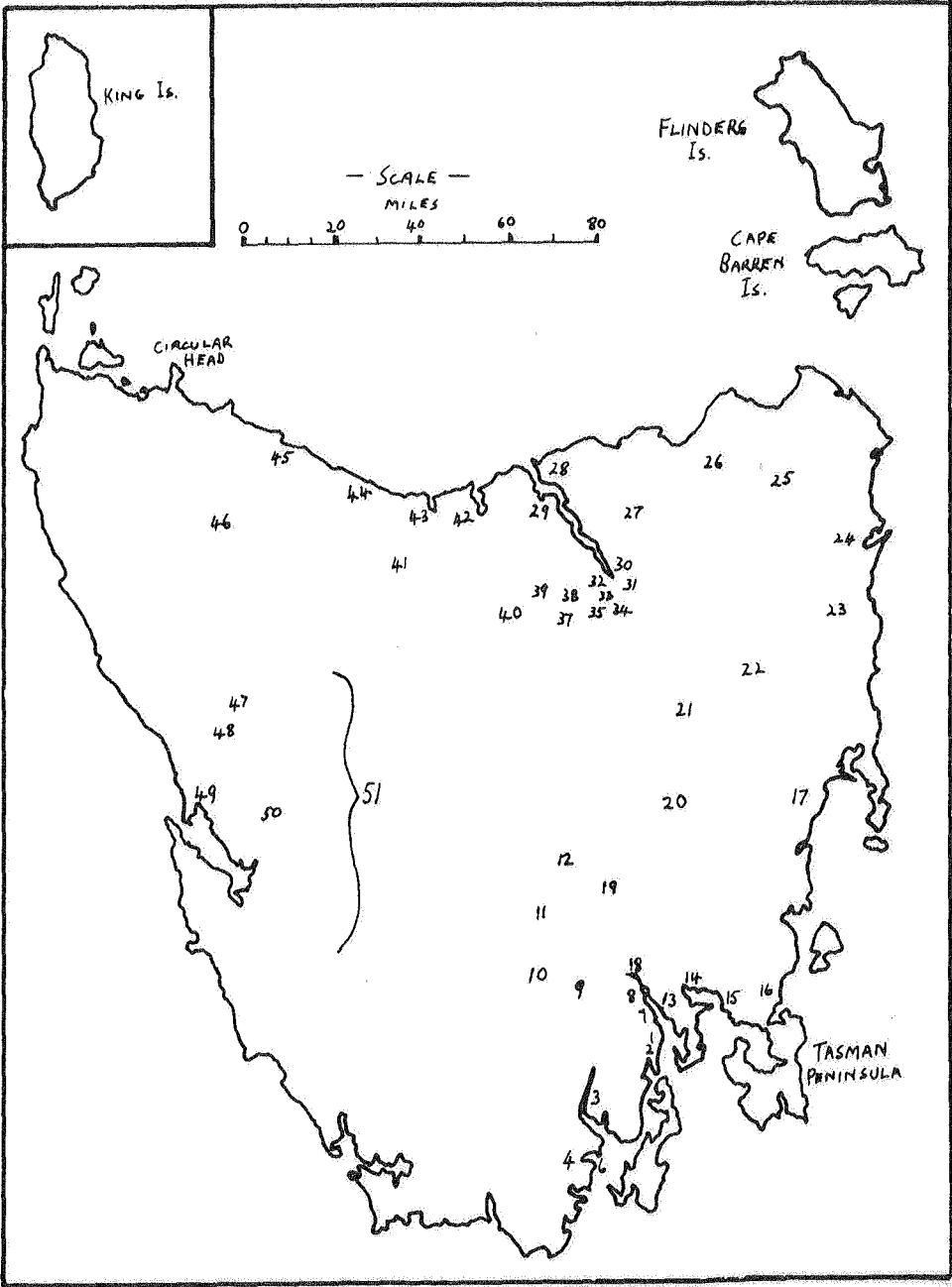


WESTBURY (Cont.)

to a Curate for Deloraine - There would be great advantages in adding Westbury to Deloraine as a Curacy - the Curate to live at Westbury if necessary & serve Westbury & Deloraine Churches on the same day.

WARATAH: Dr. Craig is doing the work for which he is fitted - among women & children - He does not touch the miners. He would do well in a place like Westbury were it to continue by itself. He has means.

APPENDIX II



see directory

DIRECTORY

- |                      |                                 |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. HOBART            | 27. LILYDALE                    |
| 2. KINGSTON          | 28. GEORGETOWN (Dorset North)   |
| 3. HUON              | 29. BEACONSFIELD                |
| 4. ESPERANCE         | 30. LAUNCESTON                  |
| 5. SOUTHPORT         | 31. ST. LEONARDS (Dorset South) |
| 6. D'ENTRECASTEAUX   | 32. FRANKLIN VILLAGE            |
| 7. NEW TOWN          | 33. PERTH                       |
| 8. GLENORCHY         | 34. EVANDALE                    |
| 9. NEW NORFOLK       | 35. LONGFORD                    |
| 10. MACQUARIE PLAINS | 36. CRESSY                      |
| 11. HAMILTON         | 37. CARRICK                     |
| 12. BOTHWELL         | 38. HAGLEY                      |
| 13. CLARENCE         | 39. WESTBURY                    |
| 14. RICHMOND         | 40. DELORAINÉ                   |
| 15. SORELL           | 41. SHEFFIELD                   |
| 16. BUCKLAND         | 42. LATROBE                     |
| 17. SWANSEA          | 43. DEVONPORT                   |
| 18. BRIGHTON         | 44. ULVERSTONE                  |
| 19. KEMPTON          | 45. BURNIE                      |
| 20. OATLANDS         | 46. WARATAH                     |
| 21. CAMPBELL TOWN    | 47. ROSEBERY                    |
| 22. AVOCA            | 48. DUNDAS                      |
| 23. CULLENSWOOD      | 49. STRAHAN                     |
| 24. ST. HELENS       | 50. QUEENSTOWN                  |
| 25. WELDBOROUGH      | 51. MONTGOMERY                  |
| 26. SCOTTS DALE      |                                 |

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

## 1. MANUSCRIPT: TASMANIAN STATE ARCHIVES

All Saints, Hobart, Free School

Ed. Dept. L.B. : 110/349

Cape Barren IslandEducation Department

Register 110/64, file 9437

Teachers' Files: 3713/1077, 3713/1819, 3713/2764,

Dept. Letter Books: 110/338, 110/349, 110/351, 110/356,  
110/361

Director's Letter Books: 110/1063

Inspectors' Reports on the School: 110/731, 110/732,  
110/733, 110/737Premier's Office

PO/15/88, PO/71/93, PO/229/94, PO/180/96, PO/94/99,

PO/28/00, PO/175/01, PO/108/2/10

Chief Secretary's Office

CSO/H/485

Tas. State Archives' File on Cape Barren IslandersChristian Record

CSO/208/00

Christ's College

Ed. Dept. Register: 110/64, file 9551

Ed. Dept. L.B.: 110/321

Church Appeals for aid from the Guesdon Bequest

PO/113/97, PO/30/98

Church and State

PO/171/98, PO/174/01

Church Lads' Brigade

CSO/238/99

Church Messenger

CSO/141/98

Dispute re Funeral of Hon. A. Pillinger, 1899

PO/139/99

Fingal Cemetery

CSO/G/360

Hospitals and Health

CSO/H/989

House of Mercy and Lock Hospital

CSO/H/1179, CSO/G/146, CSO/G/315, CSO/G/703, CSO/132/98,  
CSO/89/00, CSO/117/00, CSO/117/01,  
PO/73/99

Hutchins School: Scholarships

Ed. Dept. Register: 110/72, file 220

Land for Church at Deloraine

PO/28/00

Land for Church at Forth

PO/4/98

Launceston Benevolent Institution and Invalid Depot

CSO/14/01  
PO/43/99, PO/29/00

Marriage Laws

PO/148/94, PO/122/98, PO/122/00

Miss Cleburne's Protests against F.T. Whittington, 1896

CSO/G/954

Montgomery on the Kanaka Labour Traffic

PO/36/93

Neglected Children

CSO/126/99

New Norfolk Church

CSO/G/592, CSO/206/97  
PO/187/99

New Town Charitable Institution

CSO/H/1358

New Town Church Land

CSO/G/179, CSO/G/585

Oberlin-Harris' proposed school at Argenton,  
1892

Ed. Dept. L.B.: 110/329

Ed. Dept. Register: 110/64, file 9984

Prisons

CSO/H/1138, CSO/H/1403

Religious Education in State SchoolsEd. Dept. L.B.'s: 110/322, 110/324, 110/329, 110/337, 110/349,  
110/351, 110/359

Ed. Dept. Circular Book: 110/695

St. John's, Launceston, Mission House

PO/170/98

State Charitable Grants

PO/279/95

Tattersalls

CSO/144/97, CSO/292/99

PO/255/96, PO/27/01

University of Tasmania

PO/28/01

ClergyT.H. Pitt

Ed. Dept. Teachers' Files: 3713/1993

R.J.de Coetlogen

Ed. Dept. Teachers' Files: 3713/1200

H.H.Anderson

Ed. Dept. Register: 110/64, File 9708

J.H.Rowsell

Ed. Dept., Teachers' Files: 3713/1369

J.E.M.Roche

Ed. Dept., Teachers' Files: 3713/959

H.T. Tranmar

Ed. Dept. Teachers' Files: 3713/1653

J.Clampett

PO/63/98, PO/6/99.

Clergy (Cont.)

A.J. Greenwood  
PO/17/01

E.H. Thompson  
PO/289/95

W.H. Edwardes  
CSO/20/97

W.W.F. Murray  
CSO/H/1710

P.N. Hunter  
CSO/South African War/1900/17

A. Turnbull  
Supreme Court, Registrar's Record Book, p.196, 261



\* 2005: Now held <sup>332</sup> in State Archives, NGO Section,  
NS 373.

## 2. MANUSCRIPTS: CHURCH AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Church House MSS., now held at Christ College. <sup>\*</sup> This consists of miscellaneous MSS., and the following letter books, etc. :-

Letter Book of Sandford and Montgomery ("Hutchins"),  
1883-1899  
Bishop Montgomery's Letter Book, 1896-1902  
Diocesan Council Letter Book, 1889-1890  
Diocesan Letter Book, 1890-1892  
Diocesan Letter Book, 1895-1899  
Diocesan Letter Book, 1899-1903  
Trustees of Church Property Letter Book, 1886-1889  
Trustees of Church Property Letter Book, 1893-1897  
Trustees of Church Property Letter Book, 1897-1901  
Trustees of Church Property Letter Book, 1901-1907  
Bishop's Secretary's Letter File, 1888-1893  
Diocesan Council Letter File, XX, March-August 1896  
Diocesan Council Letter File, XXI, September-November  
1896  
Trustees of Church Property Letter File, January 1892-  
June 1893  
Diocesan Registers IV and V  
Council of Christ's College Minute Book, 1888-1912  
Diocesan Council Minute Book, 1897-1908  
Council of Advice Minute Book, 1890-1903  
Completion of St. David's Minute Book, 1889-1904  
Church News Committee of Management Minute Book, 1900-  
1902

St. David's Cathedral MSS., consisting of miscellaneous letters, etc., connected with the Cathedral 1889-1900, and Southern Clerical Society Minute Book, 1881-1893

A.B.M. Executive Council Minute Book, 22 March 1899-13 September 1901

The Hutchins School Register of Admissions, 3 August 1846-2 April 1892; Hutchins School Roll of Scholars (1)

Launceston Church Grammar School, Enrolment Register

Melbourne Diocese, Registrar's Book, extracts 1875-1882

MSS. at St. John's, New Town, dealing with purely parochial matters

MSS. at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Hobart, dealing with local matters and the Sisters of the Church

MSS. at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Launceston, dealing principally with purely local matters.

St. John's, Launceston, Sunday School Notebook, 1897-1901

All Saints, Hobart, District Visitors' Association Minute Book, 1892-1897: social work in the parish

St. George's, Hobart, Minute Book, 1896-1931, dealing principally with the Wisdom affair

Two Minute Books in the possession of the Sisters of the Church, St. Michael's Collegiate School, dealing with their establishment and early development in Tasmania :-

The Hobart Higher Grade School Log Book, 1892-1901  
Hobart Centre Journal (of the Sisters of the Church),  
1892-1903

MSS. at Christ College concerning the history of the College

MSS. in the possession of the Royal Society of Tasmania, dealing with Montgomery's relations with the Society, especially the Historical and Geographical Section. The Royal Society also possesses E.W. Stephens, The Furneaux Islands. Their Early Settlement, and some Characteristics of their Inhabitants... From a diary and notes written during many years residence in the islands and compiled at the request of the Right Rev. H.H. Montgomery, D.D., Lord Bishop of Tasmania. Launceston, 1899. (Manuscript)

S.P.C.K., Minute Books 1890-1901, dealing with grants to help church building in Tasmania

S.P.G. Records, namely Standing Committee Minute Book, vol. 53, S.P.G. Journal, vols 56 and 57, and Copies of Letters received and sent, 1889-1915. There are also two private typescripts of important monographs by Montgomery: Hints for a Commissary, n.d., and Thoughts on the Work of a Bishop, and on his Special Dangers, probably written in 1905

Extracts from Montgomery's Diary, October-December 1889, in the possession of Donald S. Montgomery, 602 West Hastings Street, Vancouver, Canada.

The Mitchell Library, N.S.W., contains A.925, Parkes Correspondence, M, a letter concerning Rev. J. Rowsell, and B.1532, E. Davis: Diary on "Tainui", 1889, which has unflattering comments on Montgomery from a fellow-passenger.

Memoirs of the Rev. F.G.Copeland, held by the Tasmanian State Archives, Hobart. These give detailed and amusing pictures of the Church's work on the West Coast in the 1890's.

Scrapbook of the Rev. R.C.N.Kelly, at Christ College, dealing principally with St. John's, Launceston.

Scrapbook dealing copiously with Archdeacon Francis Hales, in the possession of Dr. Hales, 65 Grosvenor Road, Lindfield, N.S.W.

F. T. Whittington MSS., in the possession of Christ College. Principally sermons.

G.W.Shoobridge MSS, at Christ College, consisting of letters from Montgomery to Shoobridge, 1889-1921.

Bishop W.R.Barrett's Collection of MSS. consisting of Montgomery's own papers, with complete files of many important subjects. This collection is numbered 1 to 63 on a subject basis. It is at present held by Christ College.

MSS. in the possession of G. Moase, 328 Davey Street, Hobart; remains of F.T.Whittington's MSS., especially letter re A. Turnbull.

MSS. in the possession of Miss J. M. Beattie, 59 Malunna Road, Lindisfarne, Hobart. Consists of letters of Montgomery to J. W. Beattie, 1901-1909.

### 3. NEWSPAPERS

- Adelaide Observer, Adelaide, 1883-1884  
Age, Melbourne, 1901  
Argus, Melbourne, 1897, 1901  
Australian Herald, Melbourne, 1897  
Australian Star, Sydney, 1891  
Christian Record, Hobart, 1900-1902  
Church Gazette, London, 1893, 1900  
Church Messenger, Launceston, 1895-1902  
Church News, Hobart, 1888-1908, 1932  
Clipper, Hobart, 1894-1901  
Daily Telegraph, Launceston, 1887-1900  
Evening News, Hobart, 1894  
Examiner, Launceston, 1888-1901  
Family Churchman, London, 1895  
Federalist, Launceston, 1898-1899  
Gospel Missionary, London, 1900  
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Illustrated Tasmanian Mail, Hobart, 1895-1901, 1934  
Liberator, Melbourne, 1888  
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Mitre, Melbourne, 1900  
Monitor, Hobart, 1894, 1896-1897, 1899-1901  
Morning Star, Launceston, 1893  
North-West Advocate, Burnie, 1900  
North-West Post, Devonport, 1900  
St. David's Parish Magazine, Hobart, 1897  
St. John the Baptist Magazine, Hobart, 1889-1895  
Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney, 1890-1891  
Tasmanian, Launceston, 1894  
Tasmanian Democrat, Launceston, 1893-1897

3. NEWSPAPERS (Cont.)

Tasmanian News, Hobart, 1889-1901

Tocsin, Melbourne, 1897-1901

Town and Country Journal, Sydney, 1896, 1900

Zeehan and Dundas Herald, Zeehan, 1896.

4. ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

(No author given) Christ's College, Tasmania. 1838 - 1905  
Hobart, 1906.

CLEARY, P.S. "Secular Education in New South Wales".  
Australian Catholic Record, (April, 1911), pp 207-208

DEAN OF ADELAIDE. The General Synod of the Diocese in  
Australia and Tasmania: Its Successes and Failures.  
Adelaide, 1904.

DE HOGHTON, T. Is All Well with the Church of England?  
Hobart, 1918

DIGEST of Acts and Resolutions of Synod, plus the Church  
Constitution Acts. Hobart 1889

FARRAR, P. W. "The Attitude of the Clergy Towards Science".  
Contemporary Review, (December 1868). Reprinted in  
volume 4 of Eclectic Association of Victoria Pamphlets,  
pp. 600-620

HALES, F. Sermon Preached at the Church of the Holy Trinity,  
Launceston, on All Saints' Day, 1896. Launceston, 1896.

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION of the Royal Society  
of Tasmania. Hobart, 1899.

HOGHTON, DE: See De Hoghton

MONTGOMERY, H.H. Old Age. London, 1932

OFFICIAL REPORT of the Church Congress held at Hobart on  
January 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th, 1894. Hobart, 1894.

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(1947, rev.)

SHOOBRIDGE, G.W. Notes on the History of Holy Trinity  
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1899

4. ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS (Cont.)

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WEBSTER, M. "The Influence of Dean Stanley on Religious Thought". The Melbourne Review, volume VII, (January-October 1882), pp.16-26.

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